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A photograph of a wooden book spine, likely made of oak, showing a prominent vertical grain. The spine is positioned vertically. To the right of the spine, a light-colored label is attached. The label has handwritten text in black ink. The text is partially visible and appears to be 'Ki', 'Handl', 'cathedr', and 'eastern' on separate lines. A small, dark, handwritten mark, possibly 'e', is visible on the label below the main text. The background is a solid blue color.

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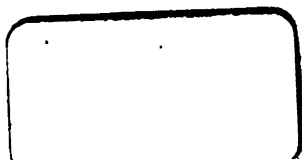
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HANDBOOK

TO THE

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.

Eastern Division.

OXFORD.—PETERBOROUGH.—NORWICH.
ELY.—LINCOLN.

Richard John

With Illustrations.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
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PREFACE.

THE present division of the "Handbook to the Cathedrals of England" embraces those of Oxford, Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, and Lincoln; the five Cathedrals which may be broadly classed as the "Eastern Division," since Oxford and Peterborough were originally included within the great diocese of Lincoln.

The descriptions have been drawn up after careful personal survey, and with the assistance of the best and most recent works on each Cathedral. No one has done more toward ascertaining the true history of our Cathedrals than Professor Willis, who combines in a remarkable degree a knowledge of the theory and practice of architecture with the learning necessary to unravel and understand the documents bearing on the history of the buildings themselves. His published works and the most trustworthy reports of his lectures have been freely used. Acknowledgment of much valuable assistance is also due (amongst others) to Mr. J. H. Parker and to the Rev. G. A. Poole. A description of the painted ceiling at Ely was kindly furnished by Mr. Le Strange, whose death

has occurred since the volume was in type, — a loss, at Ely and elsewhere, which will not readily be supplied.

In describing each Cathedral the same plan has been followed for the present volumes as for those of the Southern Division. Reference to each portion of the description will be made easy by a very full Index, which will be given at the conclusion of the entire series.

RICHARD JOHN KING.

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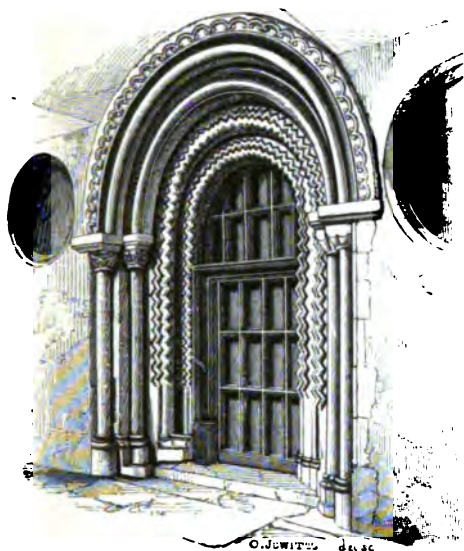
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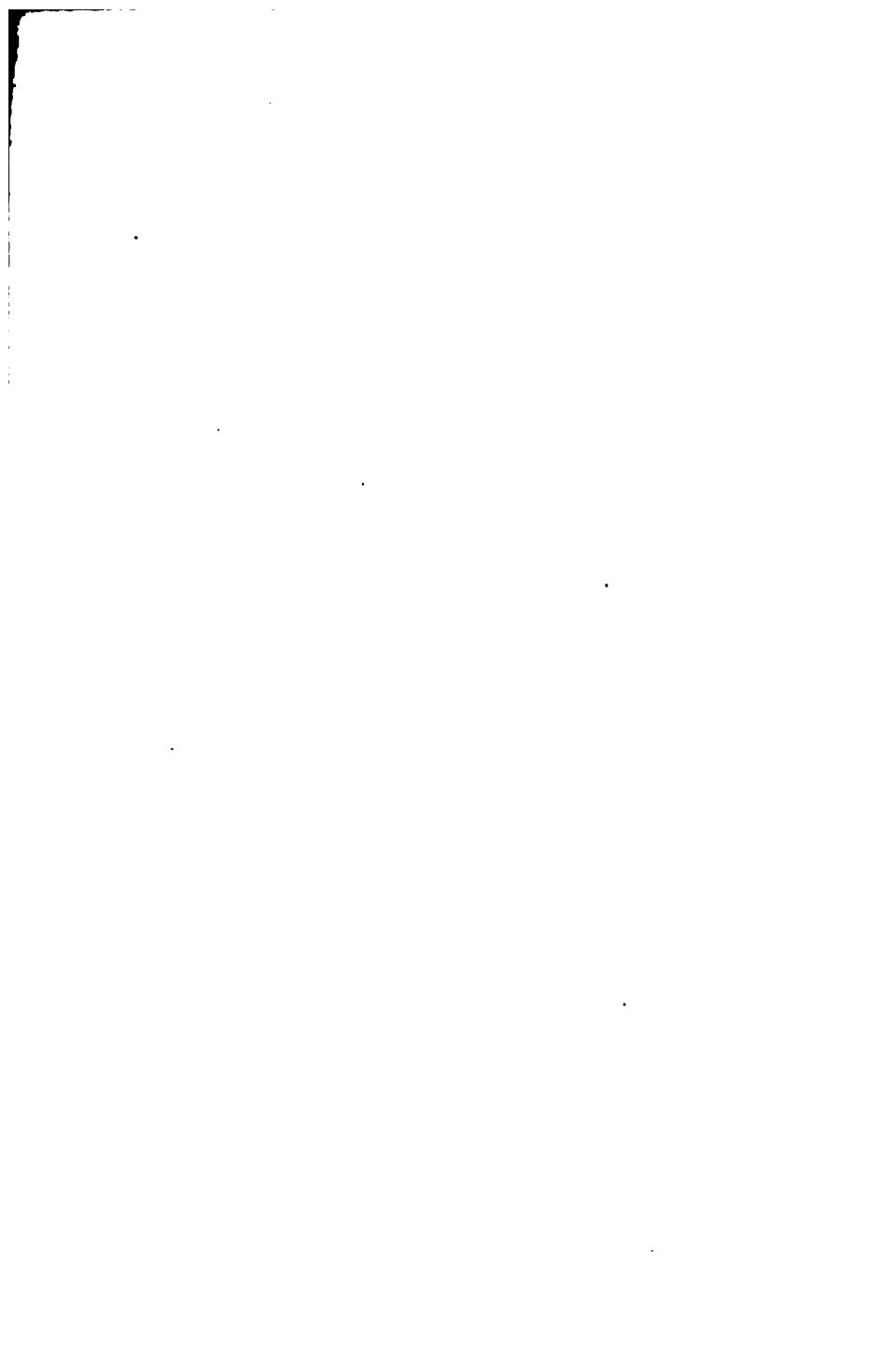
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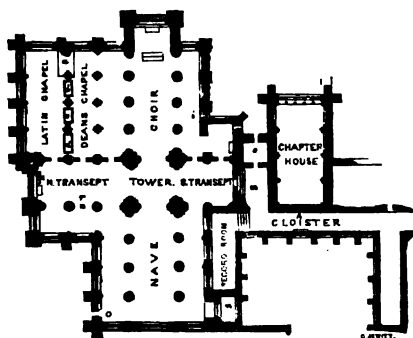
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OXFORD CATHEDRAL.



ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.





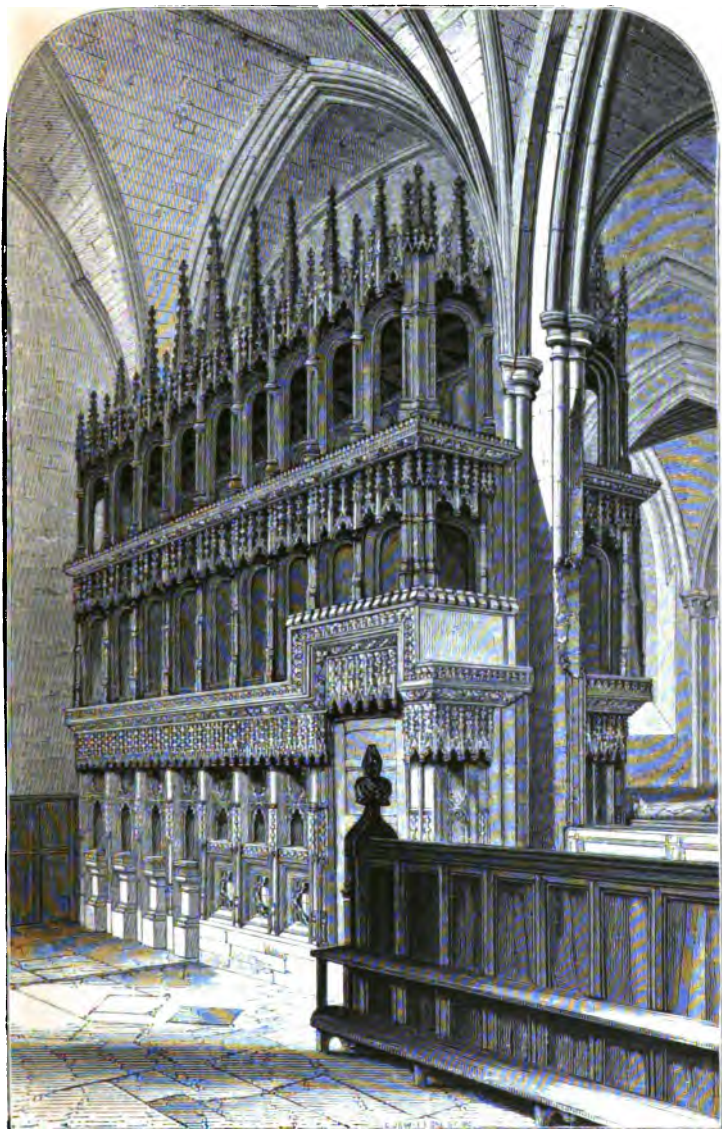
- A** *Entrance to Chapter-house.*
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GROUND-PLAN, OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



THE SHRINE OF ST FRIDESWIDE.



CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE existing cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, was originally the church of St. Frideswide's priory, the history of which will be found in Part II. In the year 1522 the priory was surrendered to Wolsey, who had selected it as the site of his new college. Extensive alterations and additions were at once commenced by the Cardinal; but on his attainder in 1529 the foundation fell into the hands of the King, and the works were stopped. Three years later (June, 1532) the college was refounded by Henry VIII. It was again surrendered in 1545; and in 1546 Henry re-established it, and transferred to it the see of Oxford from Oseney. It has retained the name of *Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxoniensis* given to it in the king's foundation charter; and the ancient church of the priory has ever since served both as the cathedral church of the diocese and as the chapel of the college.

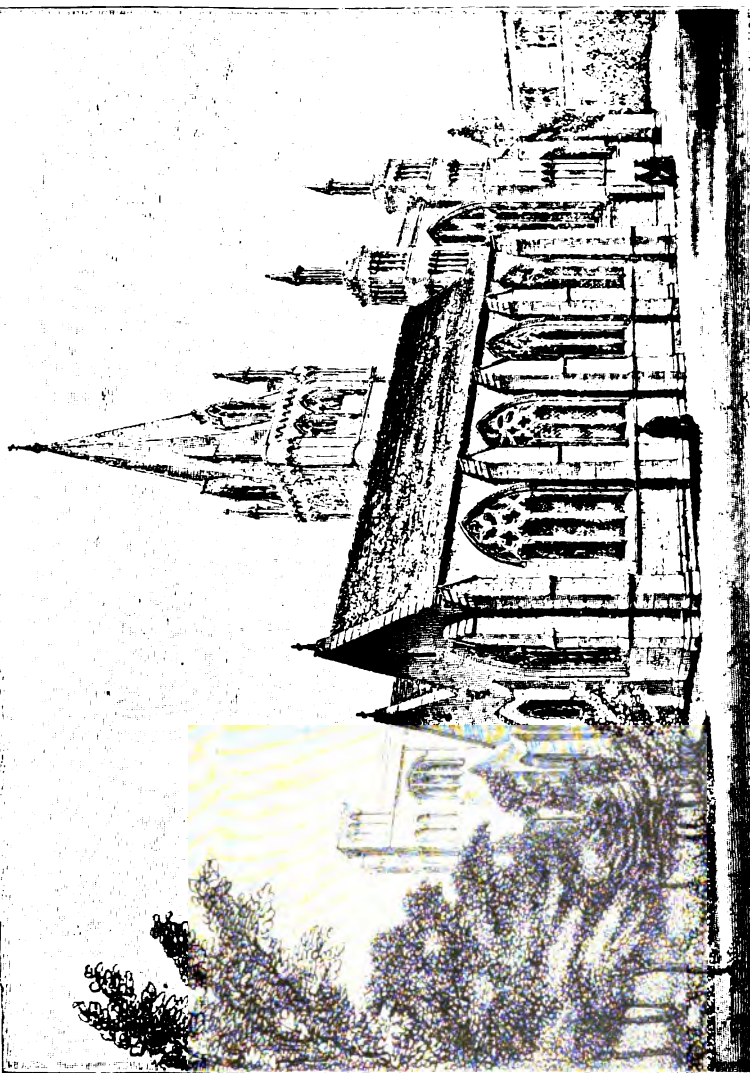
II. The *nave*, *choir*, *central tower*, and *transepts* (as far as the roofs) are late Norman, and were probably erected during the lifetime of CANUTUS, the second prior (1150—1180). In the latter year (1180), whilst

the Parliament was assembled at Oxford, the relics of St. Frideswide were translated to the new building, which must at that time have been nearly if not quite completed*. The choir, like the nave, has north and south aisles of the same period. A Lady-chapel, adjoining the north aisle of the choir, was added towards the middle of the thirteenth century; and in the first half of the fourteenth, the further addition of the so-called 'Latin chapel' was made. The roofs of the nave and choir were the work of Cardinal Wolsey.

The cathedral thus contains examples of the various styles from late Norman to Perpendicular. Of these the original Norman work is the most valuable and interesting; but it may safely be said that a careful examination of the entire building—which is the smallest cathedral in England—will repay the visitor, and will disclose many more points of interest than he may at first be prepared to expect.

III. The only good external view of the cathedral is obtained from the garden of one of the canons' houses, [Plate I.], (see § XXIII.) The west front and the greater part of the nave were destroyed by Wolsey; and the church is now approached through its ancient cloister, the west walk of which was also removed by Wolsey in order to form the staircase leading to the hall of his

* The translation is recorded in a MS., *de Miraculis S. Frideswide*, in the Bodleian. According to this narrative, a light issuing from the relics of the Saint was seen shining above the tower of her church, eight years before the translation,—a proof that the tower was completed in 1172.



SOUTH-EAST VIEW FROM THE CANONS' GARDEN.



college. Before entering the cathedral the visitor should remark the difference of *masonry* in the wall of the south transept. The upper story, above the cylindrical string-course, is good ashlar work: the lower, in which are round-headed window-openings, now blocked up, is rudely built of rubble. It has been suggested that this lower story belonged to an earlier church, the walls of which were raised by the Norman builders: but the rubble-work was originally covered by sloping aisle-roofs, which have disappeared. The windows, now closed, may have formed the openings of a triforium covering the whole of the aisle, as in other Norman cathedrals, Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough, for example.

IV. From the cloister also a good near view is obtained of the central *tower* and *spire*. The lower story of the tower, as high as the belfry-stage, is late Norman, of the same date and character as the nave: the belfry-stage itself, and the spire which surmounts it, are Early English. On each side of the lower, or Norman story, the line of the ancient high roof may be seen, rising nearly to the string below the belfry, indicating that the Norman tower served as a lantern to the interior. On either side of the roof-line is a round-headed window, now blocked. At each angle is a circular turret, which is continued through the Early English belfry-stage, but diminished in size, and ornamented with a slender and graceful arcade. Each turret terminates above the belfry-stage in a pinnacle similarly ornamented. These pinnacles are modern;

but are faithful, or, more truly, servile imitations of the ancient ones; of which not only the original features, but those resulting from the wear and tear of six centuries, have been exactly copied. An arcade is carried round the walls of the belfry-stage, the two central arches of which, on each side, are pierced for windows.



Window in the Tower.

The *spire* itself is traditionally said to be the most ancient

in England, and is no doubt one of the earliest. It is octagonal, with circular ribs at the angles; and of the 'broche' form, (i. e. it rises from the exterior of the tower walls,) like most others of that early period. Its projecting eaves are supported by a corbel-table of pointed arches. In the cardinal faces, near the base, is a single range of projecting spire-lights, much resembling the windows of the belfry-stage. The upper part of the spire, above the lights, was rebuilt at the same time as the pinnacles; but the beautiful finial of foliage with which it originally terminated was not reproduced. The old spire-point was re-erected

in the verger's garden, where it may still be seen (§ XVIII. For the interior of the tower and spire, see § XIX.)

V. The cathedral *nave* is entered from the cloister, through a porch of late date, with a roof of debased character. The nave originally extended as far as the fronts of the canons' houses in the great quadrangle; and consisted apparently of eight bays. Of the four which remain, two are included within the screen of the choir. Although the remarkable Norman piers and arches at once attract attention, the first impression on entering is unsatisfactory. The diminished nave, the incongruous character of the woodwork, and perhaps the peculiar arrangement of the chapels on the north side of the choir, render the general view confused and inharmonious. The visitor, however, will find his interest in the building steadily increase, as he sets himself to examine the details of its several portions.

It has been suggested that Wolsey's plan for adapting the monastic church to the purposes of his college, was to form the choir and transepts into a long chapel with an ante-chapel, such as those of Magdalen and New College; and to arrange the remaining portion of the nave for divinity lectures and such collegiate ceremonies as required additional space. The whole was to be modernized, and decorated with a magnificence befitting the splendid scale of the Cardinal's foundation. The work was stopped by his fall; but the progress which had been made up to that period is sufficiently clear, and will be pointed out as we proceed.

VI. The architectural character of the Norman work in both nave and choir is the same; although there are some indications, to be hereafter noticed (§ XI.), that the latter is of slightly earlier date. Both, however, are late Norman; and may be safely assigned to the thirty years (1150—1180) during which Canutus was Prior of St. Frideswide's. The massive pillars of the nave are alternately circular and octagonal. From their capitals, which are large, with square abaci, spring circular arches with well-defined mouldings. These are, in fact, the arches of the triforium; which is here represented by a blind arcade of two arches, set in the tympanum of the main arch^b. The clerestory above is decidedly transitional; and consists of a pointed arch enriched with shafts at the angles, and supported on either side by low circular arches, which form the openings of a wall passage.

The true arches of the nave spring from half capitals set against the pillars, and are plain, with a circular moulding toward the nave. The crown of these arches is considerably below the main capitals of the pillars, from which spring the upper or triforium arches. The half capitals assist in carrying the vaulting of the

^b It has been suggested that these arches, set in the tympanum, were originally the clerestory openings of a Saxon church, the walls of which were raised by the Norman architect. During the visit of the Archaeological Institute to Oxford in 1850, however, an opening in the roof of the aisle was made under the direction of Professor Willis; and it was then seen that a single arch encloses the two at the back, according to the usual arrangement of a Norman triforium.

aisles. The whole arrangement, rare on the Continent, is very unusual in England, where, indeed, it would be impossible to point out a second example on so wide a scale*. It should be remarked that much apparent height is given to both nave and choir by the lofty pillars, and the double row of arches. The interchange of circular and octagonal pillars, the pointed arches of the clerestory, and the details of the capitals and bases, which nearly approach Early English, sufficiently prove that the nave was the last portion of the Norman cathedral completed.

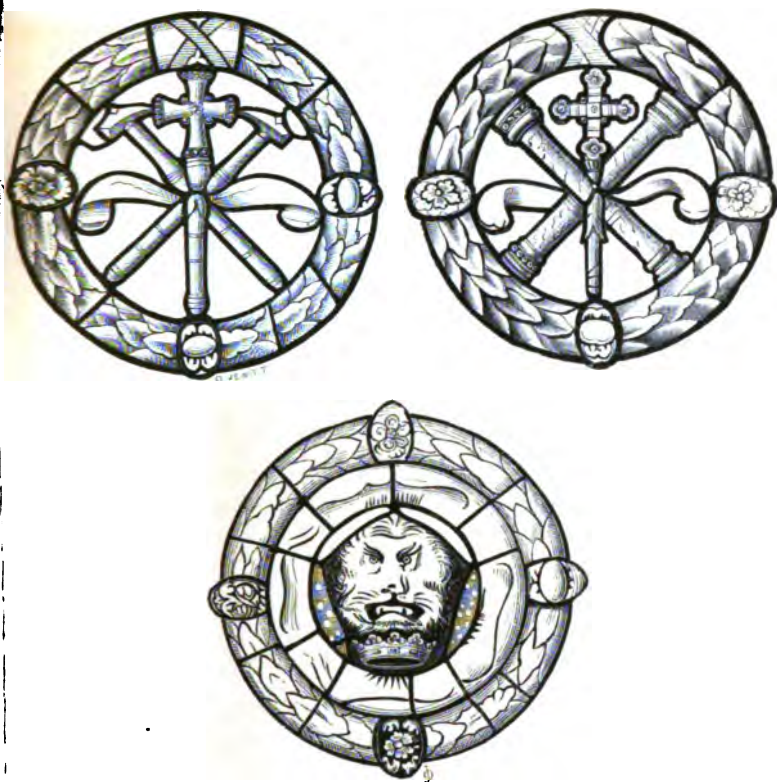
VII. The vaulting-shafts of the roof spring from corbels at the intersection of the upper arches. The corbels and shafts are Norman; but the brackets which they support, and which assist in carrying the existing roof, are enriched Perpendicular, and form part of Wolsey's preparations for the vault of stone with which, as it would seem, he at first intended to cover the nave. This plan, however, was never carried out; and was probably soon exchanged for that of the present timber roof, which is, to all appearance, of Wolsey's time, and is an excellent specimen of its class. It is of low pitch, with the beams supported on low semicircular arches, that form having evidently been selected in order to adapt the roof to the arches of the lantern tower. The square panels of the rafters are filled in with a star-like ornament.

VIII. The arrangement of the half capitals will at once be seen in the *aisles* of the nave; the vaulting and

* It occurs at Romsey, Hants., but only in the transept.

windows of which are decided, though very early, Early English. The mouldings of the vaulting-ribs vary; those in one bay of the south aisle should be noticed for their unusual beauty.

The *west wall* of the cathedral is built up between the two west pillars of what is now the fourth and last bay of the nave. The original west end seems to have been worked up again by Wolsey. At any rate, a Norman string is cut through by the west window, which is early Decorated (geometrical), of four lights. A smaller window, of similar character, is inserted at the end of each aisle. The *stained glass* in all of these is interesting, and should be examined. That in the west window is principally made up of ancient fragments belonging to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The window in the south aisle, dated 1631, represents the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which appear as modern Dutch towns. It is by Abraham Van Linge, who filled many windows in the cathedral with stained glass between the years 1630 and 1640. Some of these were destroyed during the Rebellion; but others were taken down and preserved. The window in the north aisle, representing St. Peter's release from prison, is dated 1700, and is the work of Isaac Oliver, nephew of the better known miniature painters, Peter and Isaac Oliver. The artist was aged 84 when he executed this window, which was his own gift to the college. The window adjoining is filled with the badges of Cardinal Wolsey, brought here from the hall, and, although interesting, not altogether in place. [Plate XIV.]

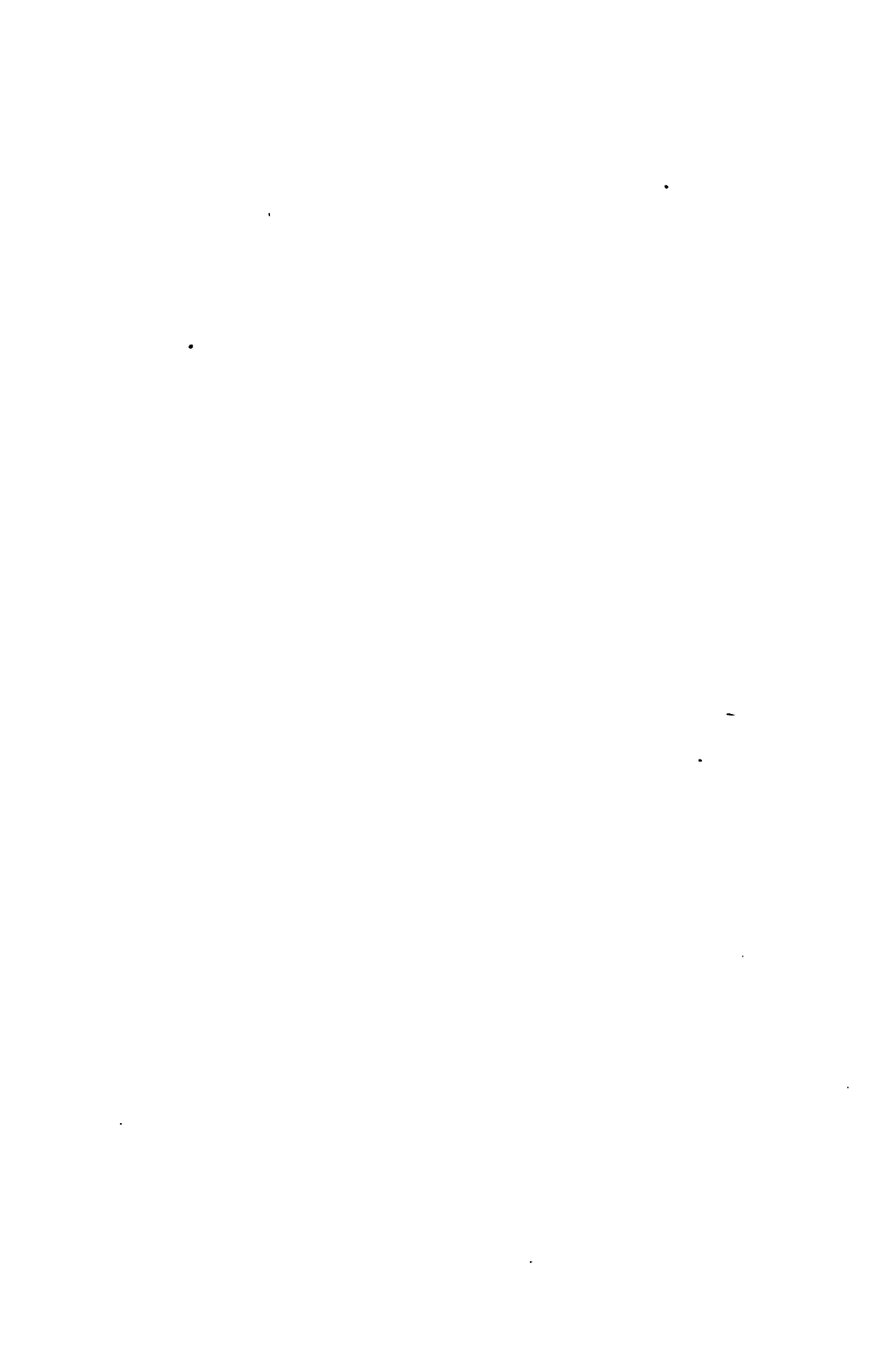


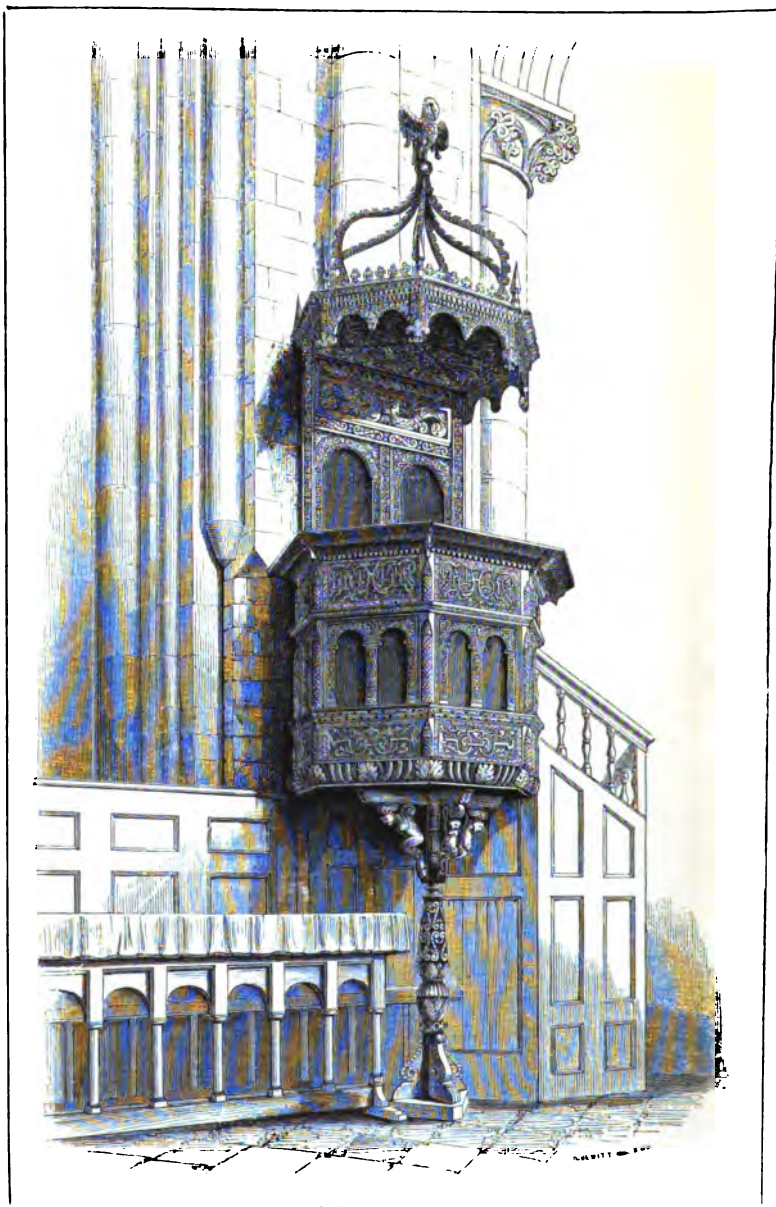
BADGES OF CARDINAL WOLSEY, NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.



SACRED MONOGRAMS IN THE EAST WINDOW OF THE LADY CHAPEL.

STAINED GLASS.





THE PULPIT BEFORE THE ALTERATION.

On the west wall are mural tablets for Bishop LLOYD (died 1829), and Dean GAISFORD (died 1855). The nave pillars outside the screen are disfigured by heavy monuments of no general interest.

IX. The present arrangement of the *choir* dates from 1856, when the interior of the cathedral was restored under the direction of Mr. Billing. Galleries and high pews were then swept away; and the old wood-work of the choir was "entirely used up again in a new form with much ingenuity; not a barrow-full was carried out, nor a single foot of new wood introduced." This is understood to be only a temporary arrangement; and, although a great improvement has been effected, it is much to be desired that more appropriate furniture should be introduced with as little delay as possible. With the exception of the pulpit, and perhaps the choir-screen, the wood-work is poor, and quite unworthy of the cathedral, regarded only as the chapel of the most important college in Oxford.

The choir-screen now incloses two bays of the nave; and judging from the shafts of the central tower-arches, which terminate half-way down, it seems probable that the original monastic choir also embraced a portion of the nave, an arrangement by no means unusual in Norman cathedrals. The screen itself is Jacobean, and deserves notice for its curious mixture of Gothic and Italian detail. The *pulpit*, at the angle of the south transept is, however, far more interesting and remarkable. It is probably of the same date as the screen. The grotesque carvings on its sides,—“strikingly simi-

lar to others of about the same date in some of the old houses in Holywell," are especially worthy of attention. [Plate II.] The original canopy, terminating in the symbol of the pelican, has been removed into the choir, where it now serves as the canopy of the episcopal throne.

X. The fine and lofty arches of the *central tower* are circular towards the nave and choir, but pointed toward the transepts. They are all four, however, of the same transitional character; and no doubt formed part of the works executed during the priorate of Canutus. The mouldings of the circular arches resemble those of the upper arches of the choir; the transept arches spring from piers composed of three nooked shafts; and have a broader and plainer soffete than those leading to the nave and choir. The tower is cut off, just above these arches, by a flat panelled ceiling of timber, no doubt inserted when the bells were brought here from Oseney. It was originally, as at Winchester, Romsey, and other Norman churches, open as a lantern; and the arcades of its upper portion still remain above the ceiling. (For the interior of the tower and spire, which can only be reached through the clerestory of the south transept, see § XIX.)

During the repairs of 1856, a small crypt or subterranean chamber, 7 ft. long, 7 ft. high, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, was discovered in the centre of the church, immediately under the eastern tower-arch. It was constructed of rude stone-work, coated with plaster; and had two small recesses or 'ambries,' north and south. Its date

and original purpose are by no means certain. It has been conjectured—that it may have been a portion of an original crypt, as at Ripon and Hexham;—that it may have been the first resting-place of St. Frideswide, carefully preserved when the Norman church was commenced on the site of the Saxon;—that it may have been the secret place with which every monastery was provided, and in which the treasures of the house were hidden in times of danger;—that it may have been constructed for the keeping of the University chest, which, for some time during the thirteenth century, was deposited in a ‘secret place’ within the church of St. Frideswide;—or that it may have been used for the production of certain miraculous appearances, many of them attended with curious effects of light, which, throughout the twelfth century, are recorded to have taken place at the shrine of the Saint. It has not been proved, however, that the shrine at any time occupied this position in the church, although it is not impossible that it may have done so; and the use of the subterranean chamber still remains uncertain.

XI. We now pass into the true *choir*, eastward of the tower; the Norman portion of which is of the same general character as the nave. Ugly wood-work and heavy monuments are still too intrusive, and catch the eye in spite of the beauty of the roof and the singular view northward through the chapels. The choir consists of five bays. All the pillars are circular; the capitals are less elaborate, and the abaci heavier than elsewhere in the church; the mouldings of the upper arches are

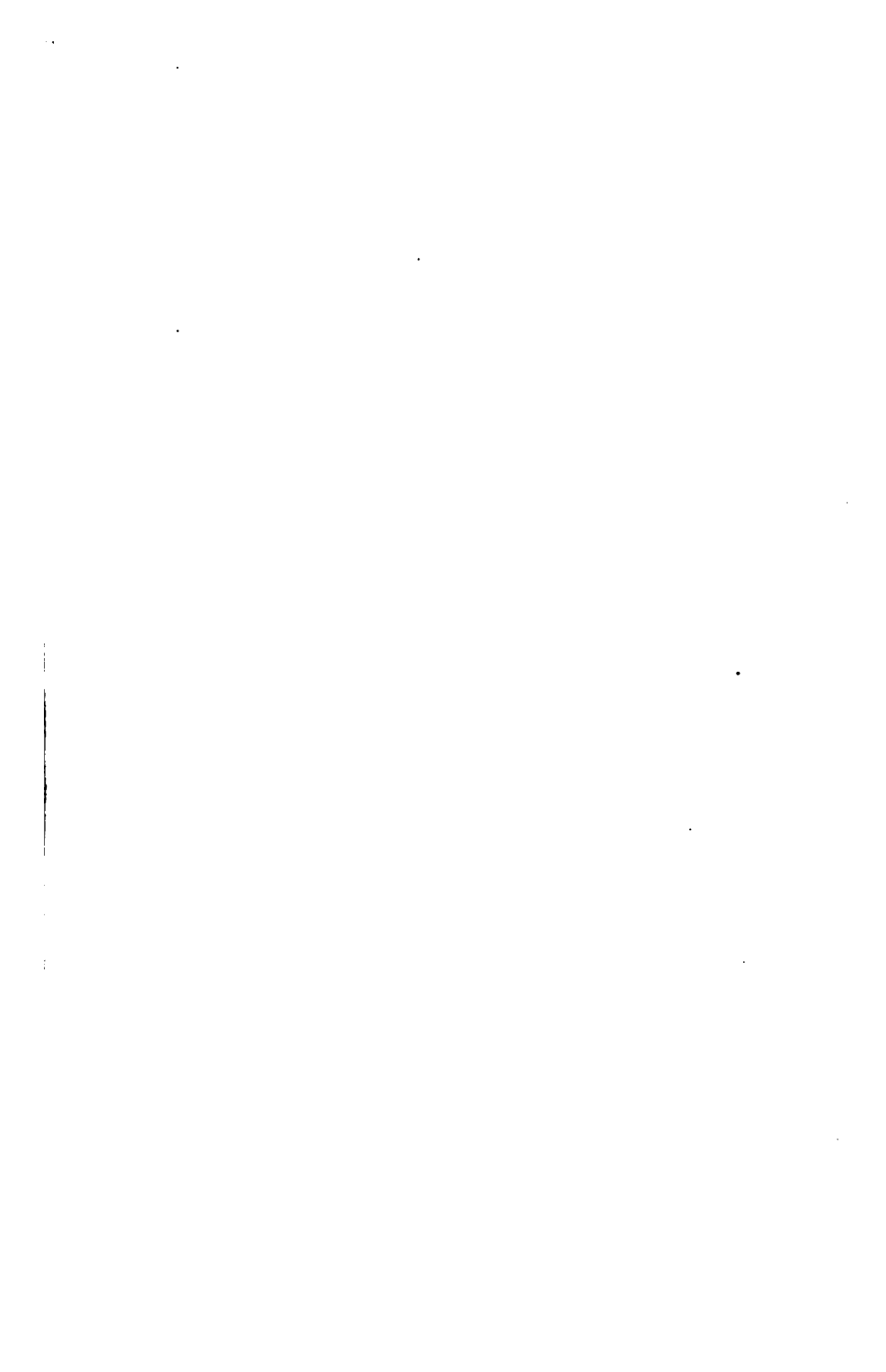
rounded throughout. [Plate III.] These features apparently indicate that the choir, although of the same late character as the rest of the Norman work, was the first part of the church completed. The arrangement of the triforium and side aisles is the same as in the nave.

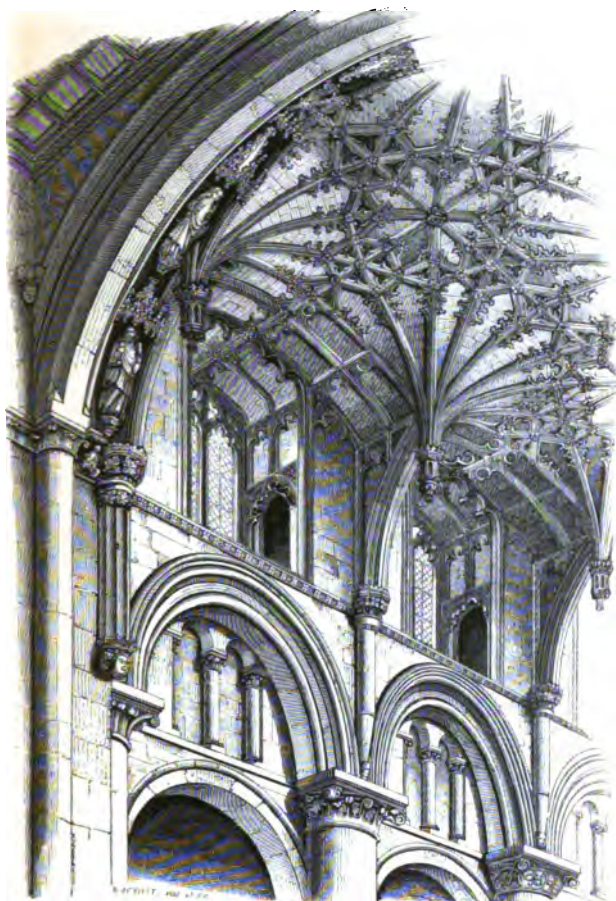
The groined roof of the choir, a magnificent example, was the work of Wolsey; and although not without indications of declining art, adds greatly to the effect of this part of the cathedral. The lantern-like pendants may be compared with those in the choir of Christ Church, Hants., of rather earlier date; and especially with those in the timber roof of the college hall, which are nearly fac-similes. The grotesque heads terminating these pendants immediately within the choir arch, should be noticed. The roof itself terminates against this arch with a series of figures under rich canopies. [Plate IV.] The vaulting-shafts next to the tower, the corbels of which represent the heads of a king and of a monk, are entirely Perpendicular. In the others the Norman corbels remain, and Perpendicular capitals have been fitted to the original shafts. Wolsey's alteration includes the whole of the choir above the triforium arches, and its commencement is marked by the flowered cornice at the base of the clerestory. The Norman walls above this cornice, however, were not removed; and the wall passage of the clerestory is the same as that in the nave, although its original masonry is hidden beneath the rich panelling of the window jambs. Similar panelling appears on each side of the windows, and on the roof as far as the pendants. Its flatness, as well as the



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THE CHOIR.





PART OF CHOIR-ARCH AND ROOF OF CHOIR.



ungraceful form of the cusps in the window arches, which might have been turned in wood, are indications of debased character, which may also be traced in some of the details of the roof itself, especially in the foliation of the straight ribs⁴.

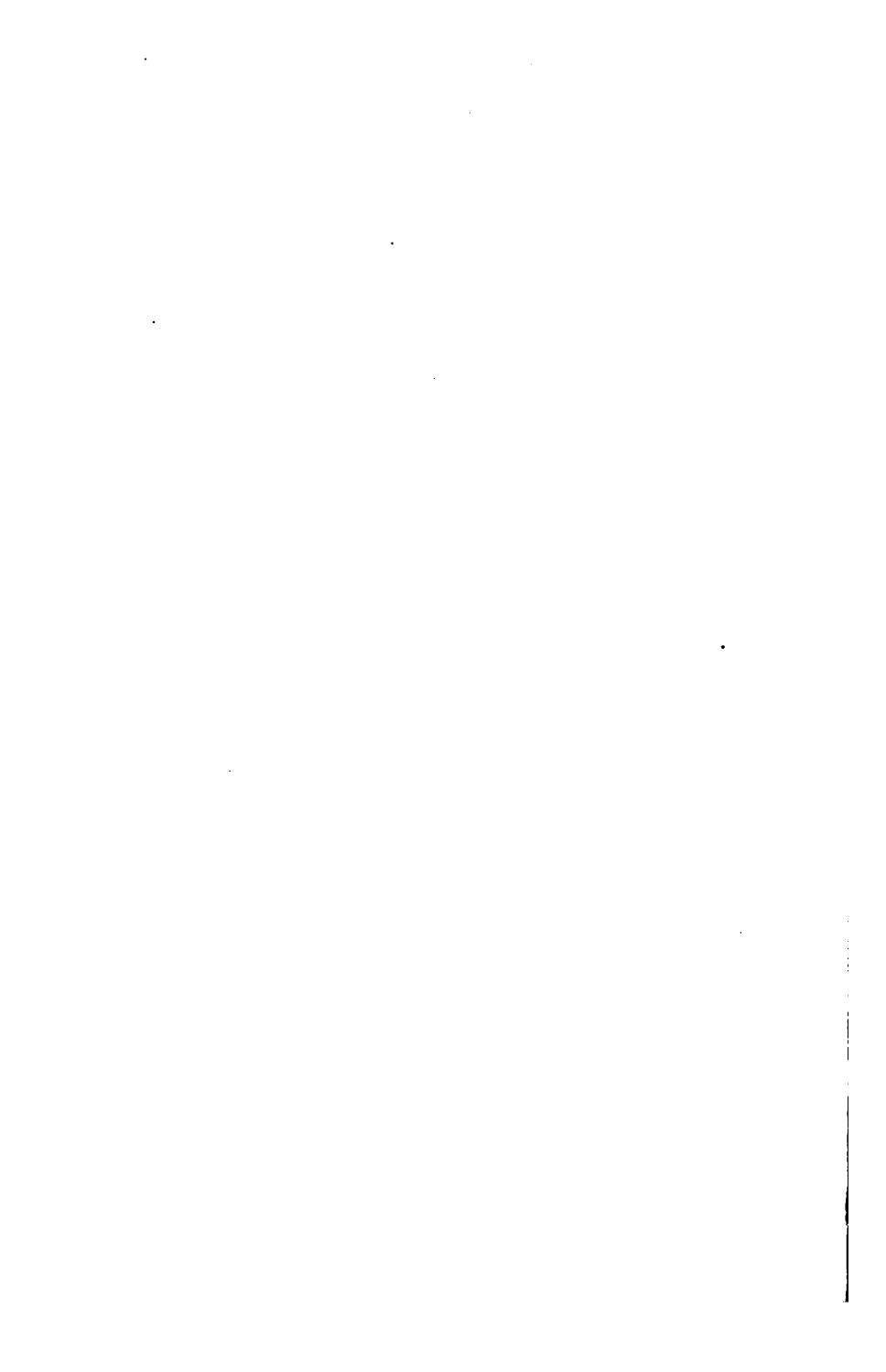
The east window, which is early Decorated, was filled with stained glass by a subscription among the members of the College in 1854, to commemorate the third centenary of its establishment. The glass, which represents the principal events in the life of our Saviour, was the work of the brothers Henri and Alfred G rente, —the first of whom died before the window was completed.

For the aisles of the choir, see §§ XIII., XVII. The *transepts*, like the nave and choir, are late Nor-

⁴ It is traditionally asserted that the materials of Oseney Abbey were used for the alterations in the cathedral; but it must be remembered that Oseney remained in its integrity at the time of Wolsey's fall; and if any portion of its stone or wood-work was used here, it must have been during the refitting of the interior in 1630. There is evidence (see Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii.) that the greater part of Wolsey's materials were duly paid for. A curious letter remains from the society of Magdalen College to Wolsey, (Ellis, 2nd series, vol. ii.,) who had asked the use of certain quarries belonging to the College for his work at Christ Church. "Quorsum enim spectat," runs the reply, "ut tu, Princeps maxime, et cujus sapientia jam totum Christianum orbem in stuporem converterit, petas potius quam imperes, ut liceat Celsitudini tue ad opus pientissimum, videl. hoc sacrosanctum Asylum, uti lapidicinis nostris; quæ haud dubie, si omnino aureæ essent, quales apud Persas jactantur montes, nunquam tamen vel minimæ beneficiorum tuorum parti respondere valuisse."

man and of the same date. The arrangement of both was originally the same; and both had eastern and western aisles. In the south transept, however, (§ XVI.,) the west aisle has disappeared, and a portion of the transept itself has been cut off and secularized. The *north transept*, which we now enter, retains both its aisles; but each bay of that to the east has been broken through in order to the construction of chapels of later date. In the transepts the clerestory windows are circular.

The transept itself consists of three bays. The vaulting of the west aisle is carried from half capitals, as in the nave and choir aisles. Both transepts have flat timber roofs; but it was apparently Wolsey's intention that both should have enriched stone vaults, like that of the choir. The two northern bays of the clerestory in the north transept shew the commencement of the work, and have been converted from Norman to late Perpendicular in the same manner as the clerestory windows of the choir. It is uncertain whether the remarkable and very unpleasing screens with circular openings, which are placed between the pillars of the eastern aisle, and through which the eastern chapels are entered, are part of Wolsey's work, or whether they were inserted in 1630, when the woodwork of the cathedral, altered in 1856, was first introduced. The circular opening is formed by the original Norman arch, and by the top of the screen below. The screens themselves have Gothic details with square Renaissance doorways; and may very well belong to either period.



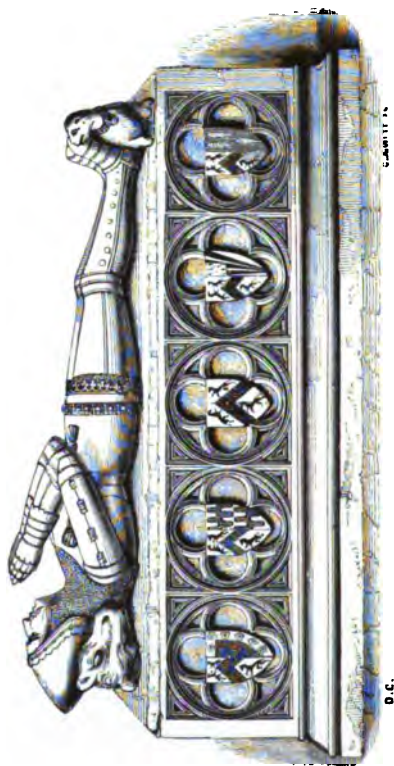


PART OF CHOIR-ARCH AND ROOF OF CHOIR.

of red and blue. The window at the end of the transept aisle, also by Van Linge, represents the city of Nineveh, with Jonah sitting under the shadow of the gourd.

XIII. The *north choir-aisle*, which is entered from this transept through one of the screens already mentioned, is transitional, and part of the original Norman church. The vaulting of the roof should, however, be noticed, and compared with that of the nave-aisles. In the latter it is pure Early English in its forms, and has pointed arches; in the choir-aisles it is pure Norman, and the arches are circular. This is of course another indication (see § XI.) that the choir was the portion of the church which was first completed; and that the nave-aisles were the last. In the north choir-aisle is a monument, with a bust, for Dean Godwyn (died 1620).

XIV. Adjoining the choir-aisle, and entered from the central eastern bay of the transept, is the *Lady-chapel*, of Early English architecture, and added towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the city wall closely adjoined the east end of the cathedral, it was impossible to add the Lady-chapel in that, the most usual, direction. The north wall of the choir-aisle was therefore broken through, and Early English piers and arches constructed in each bay, the Norman vaulting-shafts of the aisle remaining undisturbed. The western arch is circular, and was that of the eastern transept-aisle. The Early English arches themselves should be carefully examined. There is some trace of recent depression, especially in the easternmost arch;



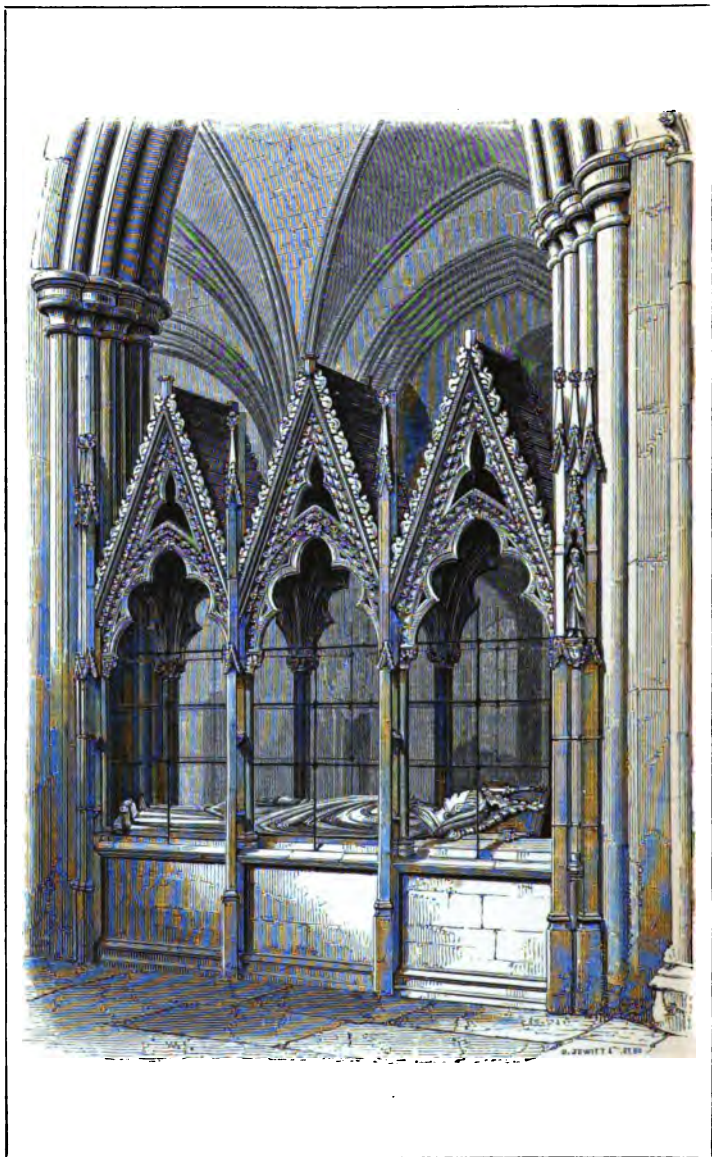
TOMB OF SIR GEORGE NOWERS

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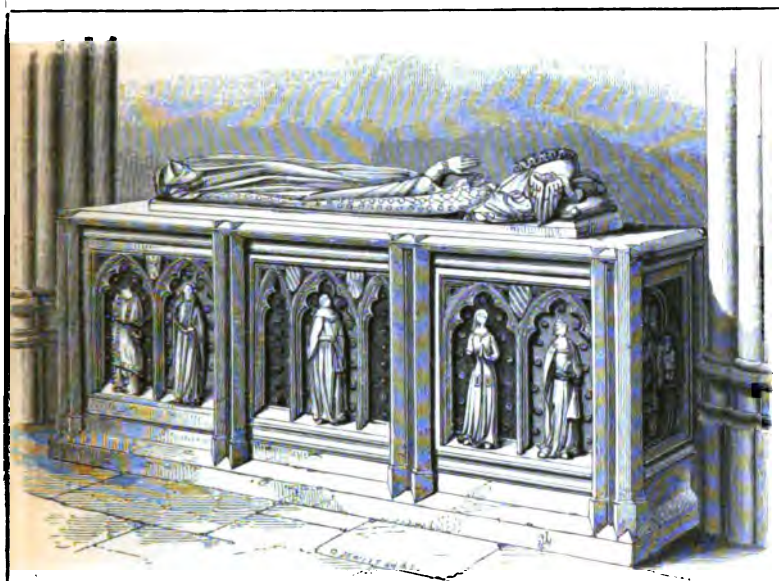


TOMB, KNOWN AS "PRIOR GUYMOND'S."

but hardly sufficient, it would seem, to account for the decidedly four-centred appearance which the arches now present. This form, which is at least of extreme rarity during the Early English period, is further indicated in the east window of the Lady-chapel, the inner and unaltered arch of which nearly resembles those of the piers.

The *monuments* which remain in the Lady-chapel are, however, more interesting than the architecture of the chapel itself. They are arranged under the arches on the north side. The *first*, westward, commonly called that of Sir Henry de Bathe, is more probably the tomb of SIR GEORGE NOWERS (de Nodariis), (died 1425). [Plate VI.] His effigy affords a good example of armour, which is, however, earlier in character than 1425. (It may be compared with that of the Black Prince at Canterbury.) If the effigy be really that of Sir George Nowers, it may have been prepared during his lifetime. The panels below are filled in with shields of arms. The *second* monument, under a very rich early Decorated canopy, is said to be that of Prior GUYMOND (died 1149), but cannot possibly be of his time. [Plate VII.] Both tomb and effigy are of the reign of Edward I. (*circa* 1300); and although the Norman prior under whom the religious foundation of St. Frideswide was re-established (see Part II.) may have been thus honoured long after his death, it is more probable that the monument belongs to one of his successors. The sides of the canopy, north and south, present a front of three

pointed arches, cinque-foiled within. "The prior is represented vested, with the amice about his neck with the apparel; in the alb, the apparels of which appear at the skirt in front, and round the close-fitting sleeves at the wrists; with the stole, and dalmatic, or tunic—which it is somewhat difficult to say: these two latter are not sculptured, but merely painted on the effigy, and are only apparent on a careful examination; over these is worn the chasuble. This vestment is very rich, and ornamented with orphreys round the borders, over the shoulders, and straight down in front. Hanging down from the left arm is the maniple. The boots are pointed at the toes, and the feet rest against a lion. There is no indication of the pastoral staff; the hands are joined on the breast."—*M. H. Bloxam*. The *third* monument is that of ELIZABETH, LADY MONTACUTE, (died 1353), [Plate VIII.]; who is said (see, however, § xv.) to have built the chapel adjoining the Lady-chapel, north, and to have given to St. Frideswide's the meadow now so well known as Christ Church Walk. She was the daughter of Sir Peter de Montfort; and widow successively of William de Montacute and Thomas de Furnival; by the former of whom she had four sons and six daughters. Lady Montacute wears a sleeveless robe, red, and flowered with yellow and green, fastened in front with a row of ornamented buttons. The close-fitting sleeves belong to an inner vest, of a different colour and pattern. Over the robe is a mantle, fastened in front by a large and rich lozenge-shaped morse, raised in high relief. "The



PANEL ON THE WEST END OF THE TOMB.

TOMB OF LADY MONTACUTE.

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mantle, of a buff colour, is covered all over with *rondeaux*, or roundels, connected together by small bands, whilst in the intermediate spaces are *fleurs-de-lys*. All these are of raised work, and deserve minute examination. They are apparently not executed by means of the chisel, but formed in some hard paste or composition, laid upon the sculptured stone, and impressed with a stamp."—*M. H. Bloxam*. Of the small figures at the sides of the tomb, two, north, represent two daughters of Lady Montacute, who were successively Abbesses of Barking in Essex. "Sculptured effigies of abbesses, especially of this period, are rare; and I know but of one recumbent sepulchral effigy of this class,—in Polesworth Church, Warwickshire. This is a fact which renders these the more interesting."—*M. H. B.* On the south side is a bishop, no doubt SIMON OF ELY (1337—1345), a son of Lady Montacute. The secular costume of the remaining figures, male and female, on both sides, is varied and full of interest. At each end of the tomb, east and west, is a very beautiful quatrefoiled compartment,—that at the head containing the Virgin and Child between the emblems of the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. John; that at the foot a female figure in relief, clad in a gown and mantle, and with long flowing hair, between the emblems of St. Mark and St. Luke. The shields in the upper angles of the panels are those of Montfort, Montacute, and Furnival.

The *fourth* monument on this side is that known

as the *Shrine of St. Frideswide*, but which seems really to have been, as Professor Willis has suggested, the watching chamber which, here as elsewhere, adjoined the shrine for the protection of the gold and jewels which enriched it. It consists of three stages; the two lower forming an altar-tomb of stone with a stone canopy; the upper of wood. [*Frontispiece.*] These belong to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; and may very possibly, as Dr. Ingram suggests, have been erected during the primacy and under the patronage of Archbishop Morton (died 1500), who had been Chancellor of the University, and a great benefactor to it. On the altar-tomb are the matrices of two brasses, said to have represented Didan and Saffrida, the father and mother of St. Frideswide; but whether this tomb is of the same date as the superstructure is uncertain. The mitred head-dress of the lady belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century, and is the only portion of costume indicated by the outlines of the figures, which alone now remain.

The shrine of St. Frideswide was probably removed to this chapel on its completion in the thirteenth century. The saint herself was recognised as the patroness of Oxford; and was occasionally represented (as in Cardinal Wolsey's *Evangelistarium*, in the library of Magdalen College) with an ox at her side. An ancient tradition asserted that if a king of England entered the church of St. Frideswide, he would certainly be unfortunate: in defiance of which, Henry III. performed his devotions before the shrine in 1264, and

was beyond a doubt 'unfortunate' afterwards,—most of all in the battle of Lewes.

The relics of the saint, although they were, of course, removed from their shrine on the visitation of Henry the Eighth's commissioners, were nevertheless preserved; and were again "made accessible to the veneration of the faithful" by Cardinal Pole. On the accession of Elizabeth they were once more concealed, and did not find their final resting-place for some years afterwards. Peter Martyr, Divinity Professor at Christ Church during the reign of Edward VI., had brought within the college walls his wife, named Catherine Cathie; who, like the wife of Luther, had been a professed nun. She died before Mary's accession, and was buried in the cathedral. Cardinal Pole directed that her remains, which had been laid "near the sepulchre of the holy virgin St. Frideswide," should be cast out from holy ground; and they were accordingly taken from her coffin and flung into a cesspool at the back of the deanery. Elizabeth ordered that the body should be restored to decent burial. "The fragments were recovered with difficulty, and were about to be replaced in the earth under the floor of the cathedral, when some one produced the sacred box which contained the remains of Frideswide. . . . They were brought out at the critical moment, and an instant sense of the fitness of things consigned to the same resting-place the bones of the wife of Peter Martyr. The married nun and the virgin saint were buried together, and the dust of the two still remains under the pavement inextricably

blended *." According to the Jesuit Sanders, the "impious epitaph" on the chest was "hic jacet religio cum superstitione." "Although," says Fuller, "the words being capable of a favourable sense on his side, he need not have been so angry†."

Against the pier opposite the shrine is the monument of ROBERT BURTON, author of the well-known "Anatomy of Melancholy," who died in 1639. From 1599 he had been a student of Christ Church, and held till his death the church of St. Thomas, in Oxford. The monument displays his bust, which, as seen in profile, is certainly marked by the *melancholia* which is said to have destroyed him. At the sides are a sphere and a calculation of his nativity. The inscription, written by himself, and placed here by his brother, William Burton, the historian of Leicestershire, runs thus :—

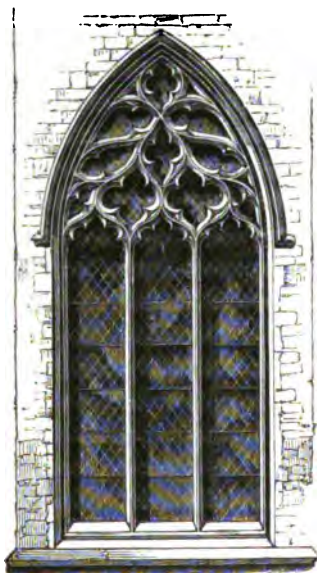
"Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus
Hic jacet
Democritus Junior
Cui vitam dedit et mortem
Melancholia."

Against the pier below is the monument of Dean ALDRICH (died 1711), with a bust and a curious emblem of death—a crowned skull with wings at the back—beneath it. Dean Aldrich possessed considerable learning, and was the author of the "Compendium of Logic," still, unhappily, in use. His musical compositions have better claims to a protracted life. His anthems and cathedral services are well known; and his catch,

* Froude, Hist. Eng., vi. 468. † Worthies—Oxfordshire.

"Hark ! the bonny Christ Church bells," may be mentioned with respect within hearing of the bells themselves.

XV. The northern, or *Latin Chapel*, (so called from the Latin service which is read in it at the beginning of Term,) is Decorated; and is generally said to have been built by Lady Montacute as her own chantry*. The western arch was originally that of the transept aisle. The wall of the Lady - chapel has been cut through, and somewhat large masses of it worked into the piers. The vaulting is Decorated, with gracefully-turned arches and bosses enriched with foliage,



One of the Windows of the Latin Chapel.

* Professor Willis has suggested that the architectural character of this chapel indicates too early a date to allow of its having been the work of Lady Montacute. Judging from the light flowing tracery of the windows, however, the chapel can hardly be earlier than the reign of Edward III. (1327—1377), and as Lady Montacute died in 1353, she may very well have been the foundress.

among which appears that of the water-lily, still a native of the Cherwell and the Isis. [Plates IX. and X.]

An entirely new east window, with beautiful, but strangely incongruous Venetian tracery and stained-glass, has been inserted as a memorial of DR. BULL, Canon of Christ Church, who died in 1859. The glass, designed by Mr. Jones, has been executed by Messrs. Powell, and deserves especial notice. The subjects are from the life of St. Frideswide; who in the *first* light is seen at school; founding her nunnery with the chief of her companions; and sought in marriage by the messengers of the Mercian king: in the last subject the king with his forces is approaching to carry her off. In the *second* light she is seen leaving Oxford, and descending the river to Abingdon; the King of Mercia is then shewn ravaging the country about Oxford; and St. Frideswide appears among the swine. In the *third* light she retreats to a nunnery at Binsey; the king finding no trace of her, returns sorrowfully. Her companions join her at Binsey; where she becomes distinguished by miracles and alms-deeds. In the *fourth* light the king again seeks her; she flies to Oxford; the battle is shewn between the Mercians and the men of Oxford: and the king is struck blind with a waving shaft of lightning. The last subject is the death of St. Frideswide, whose story will be found more at length in Part II. In the tracery above are the ship of souls convoyed by angels, and the trees of life and of knowledge. The harmonious colouring of this glass, the excellent character of the several designs, and the



BOSSSES IN THE LATIN CHAPEL.

beauty of the details, especially of the water-plants and animals introduced, deserve especial notice and commendation. The window may be said to mark a decided step in the art of modern glass-staining.

The woodwork in this chapel is unusually fine, and affords some very good examples. It is much later than the chapel itself, and is apparently part of the furniture prepared for the choir by Wolsey. One of the poppy-heads represents the Cardinal's hat supported by angels. The emblems of the Evangelists, and the sacred monogram, I. H. S., appear on others.



Poppy-head in the Latin Chapel.

Against the western pier is the monument of JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church, (died 1686. See Part II.) The inscription was written by Dean Aldrich.

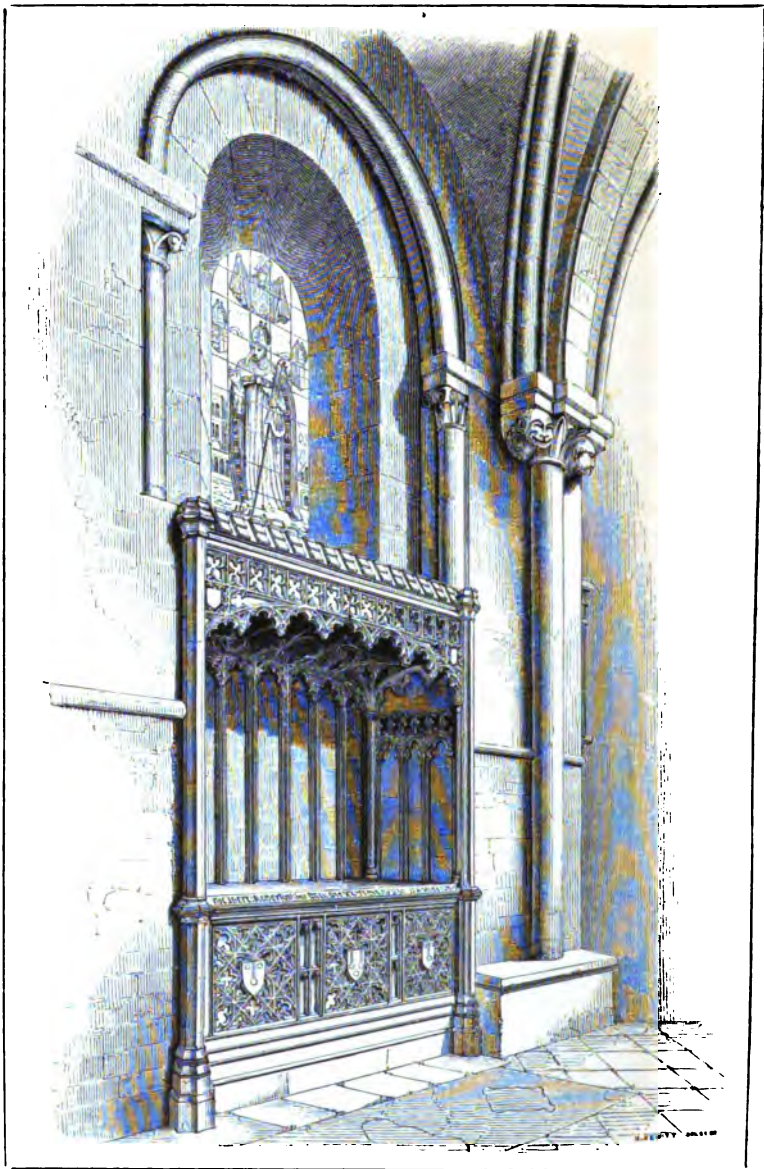
In this chapel the Regius Professor of Divinity lectures.

XVI. Re-crossing the church we enter the *south transept*, within which the organ is placed. The original arrangements here were precisely the same as those of the transept opposite; but the western aisle was destroyed, probably in order to form the cloisters, before Wolsey's alterations; and the third, or southern, bay of the entire transept has been secularized, and now forms a portion of the verger's house. Above the arch of the south choir-aisle are two corbels, representing an angel and a king, the purpose of which is quite uncertain, though it has been conjectured that they may have assisted in supporting some kind of gallery towards the tower. They are of later date (Perpendicular?) than the arch itself.

In the transept are tablets for Dr. JAMES, Bishop of Calcutta, and Dr. FAUSSET, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, (died 1858).

XVII. The *south choir-aisle* is entered from this transept. It is of the same date and character as the aisle opposite. The east window has been filled with stained glass by WAILES, as a memorial of G. G. Fortescue, of Boconnoc, who died at Algiers, 1858. Some indistinct remains of painting may be traced against the pillars of the eastern bay.

Recessed under the first window of this aisle is the altar-tomb, with canopy, of ROBERT KING, first Bishop of Oxford, (died 1557. See Part II.) This monument was originally placed in the choir, and was removed to its present situation by Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and his brother John; both of whom



MONUMENT OF BISHOP KING.

were canons of Christ Church in the early part of the seventeenth century, and were descended from William King, brother of the Bishop of Oxford. They filled the window above the monument with stained glass, (probably by Van Linge,) representing the Bishop fully vested, with the ruins of Oseney, of which he had been abbot, in the background¹. The arms are those of King, impaled with the abbey of Oseney and the see of Oxford. (Plate XI.) During the Rebellion this window was taken down and preserved by a member of the family.

XVIII. The second bay of the transept-aisle, probably the chapel of St. Lucy, but now serving as a vestry, remains in its original condition, with the exception of its eastern wall, which was rebuilt in order to receive a Decorated window of very beautiful and unusual character. The tracery is flamboyant, and commences far below the spring of the arch.

A door in this portion of the transept opens to the verger's garden. The base of a buttress at the angle of the transept is formed of a curious piece of Norman sculpture, which was probably the capital of a pillar. There is not, at any rate, the slightest reason for believing that it ever formed a portion of the 'altar' or 'shrine' of St. Frideswide, as was suggested by Dr. In-

¹ This, it is said, is the only authentic view remaining of this great abbey. It represents the condition of its ruins about 1630. The bells now in this cathedral formerly hung in the great western tower of Oseney, which is seen in the window, and stood for some years after this period.

gram. The subjects represented are, the Fall of Man, the Sacrifice of Abraham, and a third which has not been deciphered.

At the end of the garden the original top of the



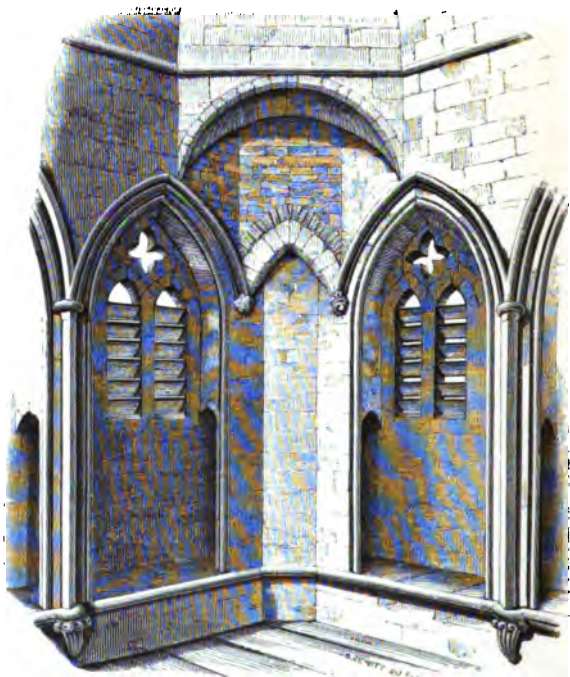
Original top of the Spire.

spire (§ iv.) has been set up, and may be compared with its modern fac-simile. The finial with its graceful foliage has not been restored. From this point also an excellent view of the *east end* of the cathedral is obtained. This, which is a good example of late enriched Norman, consists of a gable, which has been lowered, between two square turrets, which in all probability terminated originally in slender spires, such as still remain on the north transept. (§ xxiii.)

The turrets are enriched with blind arcades, the uppermost of which has pointed, the lowest intersecting arches. The Norman window has been replaced by a

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INTERIOR OF THE TOWER—ONE OF THE SQUINCHES.

Decorated one of three lights, already noticed. (§ XI.) It fills the entire space between the turrets.

The square eastern end is perhaps another indication of late or transitional work. The earlier Norman choirs generally terminated in an apse.

XIX. Returning to the transept, and passing through it into the cloister, the visitor who desires to ascend the *tower*, the arrangements of which are curious and interesting, must enter the vergers's house, which is in fact the northern bay of the transept. Through this he will gain admission to the clerestory, the only passage to the upper part of the tower. The chamber above the ceiling, originally open as a lantern, is surrounded with an arcade of very small arches resting on massy shafts, the capitals of which spread in an unusual manner, and are much enriched. In the west range of this arcade was a small opening into the roof of the nave, now blocked up. Above is another arcade of taller arches, in the angles of which were the round-headed windows, the traces of which are seen without, on either side of the original roof-line. The upper, or *belfry-stage*, which is Early English, is internally octagonal; the subordinate faces, which are much smaller than the cardinal, being formed by chamfering off the angular turrets. The 'squinches,' or small arches above these faces, support the spire. [Plate XII.] A wall-passage runs round this chamber, piercing the slender piers between the window-arches, the corbels supporting which should be noticed. The bells which hang in this chamber were those of Oseney Abbey, where they

hung in the great western tower represented in the window above Bishop King's monument. The fame of their melody was widely spread before their removal to Christ Church, and their names were thus recorded in a rude hexameter :—

“Hautclere, Douce, Clement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel, et John.”

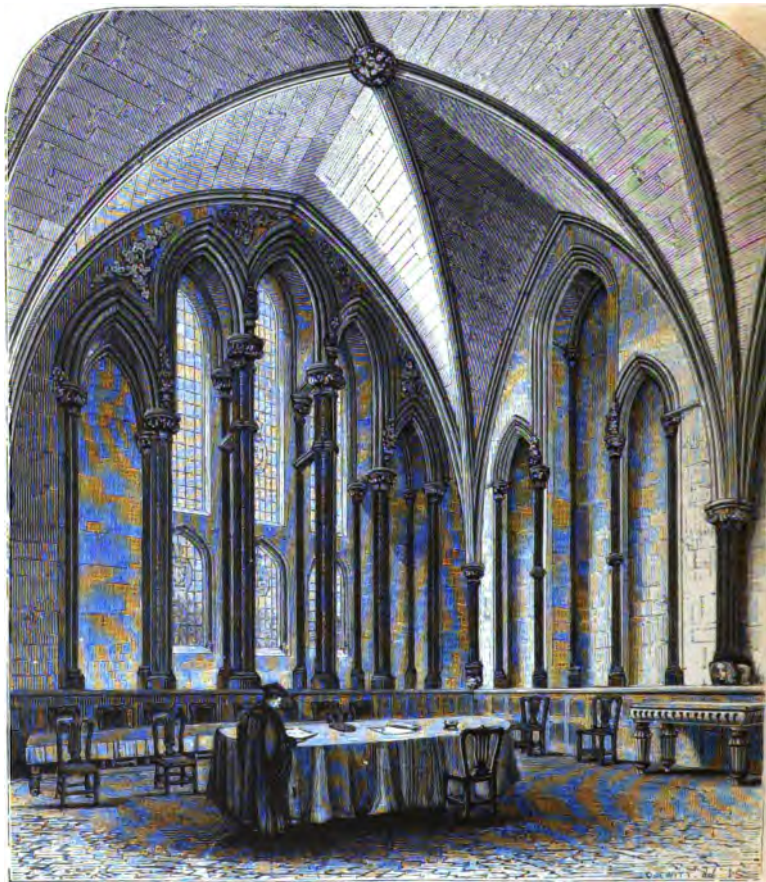
A narrow and awkward passage leads upward to



Spire Light.

the lower part of the spire, in which the Early English spire-lights deserve examination. These have a double plane of tracery; the mullion and quatrefoil in head being repeated in the inner arch. The outer arches have two transoms, which, like the mullions, are square. Transoms are rare during the Early English period, but occur also in belfry-towers at Bampton and at Witney, both in Oxfordshire.

XX. The entrance to the chapter-house, on the east



THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

side of the cloisters, is transition Norman, and apparently of the same date as the church. [Title-page.] It is an arch of four 'orders' or divisions, the two inner of which are richly ornamented with zigzag moulding. The two outer rise from shafts, the capitals of which on the south side are plainly cushioned; on the north they are elaborately sculptured. An ornamented label surrounds the external arch. On either side of the doorway is a circular window-opening, plain without, but within ornamented with the same label as the doorway. The vaulting of the cloister roof has been broken off very near this doorway; but at what time, or for what purpose, is uncertain.

The *chapter-house* itself was rebuilt during the very best Early English period, of which it affords an excellent example. It may be compared with the chapter-house at Lincoln, also Early English, but somewhat later in the style¹, with the Early English chapter-house at Salisbury, both of which, it should be remembered, were attached to cathedrals of far greater wealth and importance than the priory of St. Frideswide, and with the chapter-house at Chester, which is nearly of the same date and character. [Plate XIII.] The purity of its style, however, and the interest of its details, would entitle this chapter-house to a high rank could it be restored to its original condition. It is now cut in two by a stone wall, the inner portion alone

¹ It should be remembered that until the reign of Henry VIII. Oxford was in the diocese of Lincoln, and that the same company of workmen may have been passed from one place to the other.

being used as the chapter-house. The original form was a parallelogram, divided into four bays, the vaulting of which springs from clustered shafts supported on brackets. The eastern end is especially beautiful. An arcade of five arches fills the entire bay. The three central arches are pierced for windows, deeply recessed, and are in fact double, the inner arches resting on slender clustered shafts with foliated capitals, the outer or window-arches resting on single shafts attached to the wall. Of these outer arches those north and south are blank. The three central ones are pierced, and form a very striking triplet, each light of which is crossed by a transom, with a four-centred arch beneath. (See § XIV.) The foliage and ornaments of the clustered shafts and capitals, as well as that introduced between the arcade and the roof, are most graceful, and deserve all possible attention. The two eastern bays on the south side, and the eastern bay on



Boss in the Chapter-house.

the north, have similar arcades of three arches, the centre arch of which, now blocked up, was originally open as a window. The details of these arcades are less rich than those of the eastern, but should be noticed, as well as the grotesque corbels which support the vaulting-shafts,

and the bosses at the intersection of the vaulting-ribs, which are curious and elaborate. One of them represents the Virgin, crowned, presenting an apple to the divine Infant.

The chapter-house contains a chest covered with rich flamboyant panelling, a finely carved Elizabethan table, and some wainscoting of the same period, all well deserving of attention. In the outer division of the chapter-house, against the south wall, is the foundation-stone of Wolsey's College at Ipswich, rescued from destruction by the Rev. Richard Canning, Rector of Harkstead and Freston in Suffolk, who found it built into a wall, and bequeathed it to the Dean and Chapter in 1789. The inscription (at length) runs, "Anno Christi 1528, et Regni Henrici Octavi, Regis Angliæ 20, mensis vero Junii 15, positum per Johannem, Episcopum Lidensem." This bishop was John Holt, titular Bishop of Lydda, and probably a suffragan of Lincoln.

XXI. The *cloister* originally formed a square, but the west walk and part of the north shared the fate of the west front of the church, and the remaining portion of the north walk has been converted into a muniment-room. The east walk, and part of the south, remain; but at least half of the east side has lost its vaulted roof, and a second story has been added, with very indifferent windows. The cloisters and refectory are traditionally said to have been built with funds bequeathed for the purpose by Lady Montacute, but the work is certainly of later date. The vaulting, which is peculiar, cannot be earlier than the middle of the fif-

being used as the chapter-house. The original form was a parallelogram, divided into four bays, the vaulting of which springs from clustered shafts supported on brackets. The eastern end is especially beautiful. An arcade of five arches fills the entire bay. The three central arches are pierced for windows, deeply recessed, and are in fact double, the inner arches resting on slender clustered shafts with ^{deep} ~~been~~ ^{and} ~~convitals~~ ^{convitals}. the outer or window-arches on side its large and hand-attached to the wall ^{shows}, of three lights, remain.

In the chaplains' quadrangle, south of the refectory, the most picturesque and venerable portion of the college domestic buildings, are two remarkable Perpendicular windows, opening to the cloister, which on that side is continued to the meadows. They are of two lights, square-headed, with a label supported by angels. The lower part of the tracery in each light is formed in a curious manner by the intersection of straight lines.

XXIII. The only *exterior view* of the north side of the cathedral is to be obtained from the garden of the canon's house which adjoins it; to enter which permission must, of course, be asked. [Plate I.] The best point of view will be found to be the north-east corner of the garden, from which the eastern end with its chapels, the north transept with its turrets and pinnacles, and the central tower and spire, form a mass sufficiently varied and picturesque. The transept is flanked by square turrets, resembling those at the east end, and nearly of the same date. They are capped with slender spires, ornamented with shafts, and having conical terminations. These are transitional, and earlier than the

and the bosses at the intersection of the vaulting-ribs, which are curious and elaborate. One of them represents the Virgin, crowned, presenting an apple to the divine Infant.

The chapter-house contains a chest covered with rich flamboyant panelling, a finely carved Elizabethan table, and some wainscoting of the same period, all well preserved of attention. In the outer division of Perpendicular character at the south wall, is the foundation.

The alterations commenced at Ipswich, rescued story of the transept (§ XII.) should here be noted from the exterior.



Capital and Corbels, South Aisle of Choir.



CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE history of St. Frideswide, the site of whose priory is now occupied by the college and cathedral of Christ Church, has been involved in so much legend and uncertainty, that it is scarcely possible to ascertain the amount of truth which it may really contain. No life exists which is nearly contemporary. William of Malmesbury and Prior Philip of Oxford have both told the story of the saint; the first in his *Gesta Pontificum Angliæ*, the second in a narrative which remains in MS. in the Bodleian. Extracts from what seems to have been an earlier life of St. Frideswide are preserved in Leland's *Collectanea*.

Early in the eighth century, according to the legend, St. Frideswide was born at Oxford, of which city and district her father, Didan, was the ruler. Her mother's name was Saffrida. With a zeal then by no means unusual among noble Saxon ladies, Frideswide, who had been educated by a sainted virgin named Elgiva, early devoted herself to a monastic life, and induced twelve of her companions to follow her example. Her father, Didan, built a convent for her within the walls of Oxford, which he dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints. But Algar, King

of Mercia, the province within which Oxford was situated, demanded Frideswide in marriage; and as his entreaties were ineffectual, he determined to carry her off by force. She fled to Abingdon. The Mercian King ravaged the whole surrounding country; and Frideswide, for the sake of greater security, was compelled to take refuge with a swineherd. Thence she escaped to a nunnery at Binsey, where she was joined by the twelve companions who had been under her rule at Oxford. After some time the king discovered her retreat, and she fled back for shelter within the walls of Oxford. A battle took place outside the city between the Mercians and the men of Oxford; during which Algar of Mercia was miraculously stricken blind, and was only restored to sight by the intercession of St. Frideswide, whom henceforth he ceased to persecute. She retired to Thornbury in Gloucestershire, where she built herself an oratory, and remained in entire solitude, until, finding that her life was about to close, she returned to her convent at Oxford, where she died,—according to the extract in Leland, Oct. 19, A.D. 740. Her life was distinguished by numerous miracles; and her remains were classed among the chief treasures of Oxford, of which city she became the especial patroness.

St. Frideswide was buried in the church of her own convent, called “the Church of St. Mary of Oxford, on the banks of the Thames*.” It was no doubt built of wood; since it was into its tower that the Danes fled from the massacre of St. Brice’s Day in the year 1002, when the people of Oxford set fire to the church, and burnt it, together with all who had taken refuge within its walls. It was rebuilt, probably again of wood, about two years afterwards; and there is no further notice of St. Frideswide

* This was the first church at Oxford dedicated to the Virgin. The second was the present University Church, dedicated to St. Mary of Littlemore; and the third, St. Mary of Winchester, to whom Wykeham dedicated New College.

or of her convent until the year 1111^b, when Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, granted a "certain place in Oxford, where the body of St. Frideswide lay," to Guimond and his fellow canons^c. It would seem that the nuns of St. Frideswide had been supplanted before the Conquest by a body of secular canons. After the Conquest, their church was bestowed on the monks of Abingdon, who expelled the canons in their turn. They had been restored, however, before Bishop Roger's grant to Guimond; but their numbers had become few, and Guimond replaced them by a company of regular canons, of whom he became himself the first prior. The convent and church of the canons of St. Frideswide continued to flourish until the suppression of the house was procured by Wolsey in 1522.

Prior Guimond may possibly have commenced rebuilding the church, but the greater part of the work was carried on, and the building was no doubt completed, under the rule of his successor, Prior Robert de Cricklade, or Canutus, (1150—1180; see Pt. I.) The confirmation of the privileges of the priory by Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear, the English Pope) was addressed to Canutus; who, according to Wood, was Chancellor of the University in the year 1159. The various additions to the church, and the history of its greatest treasure, the shrine and relics of St. Frideswide, have been noticed at length in Part I. The site of the priory was at last fixed upon by Wolsey as a suitable one for the foundation of his new college; and accordingly, in the year 1522, the Prior was induced to

^b This is the date in Matthew Paris. William of Malmesbury has 1122. The episcopate of Bishop Roger commenced in 1107. He died in 1139.

^c What right Bishop Roger had to interfere in Oxford, then in the diocese of Lincoln, does not appear. The "book of St. Frideswide," quoted by Twine (*Antiq. Acad. Oxon.*) assigns the grant with more probability to King Henry. Roger may possibly have been Chancellor at the time.

surrender the establishment into the hands of the King, who transferred it to the Cardinal. A bull for its suppression was obtained from Clement VIII.; who in 1524 and 1528 issued further bulls, granting permission to Wolsey to suppress about forty-two small religious houses, the revenues of which were to be applied to the Cardinal's two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. The foundation-stone of the latter college was laid July 17, 1525, by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln⁴, who preached a Latin sermon in St. Frideswide's church, from Proverbs ix. 1, "Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum." The alterations commenced in the priory church, and the destruction of part of its nave, in order to adapt it for the purposes of the new establishment, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Frideswide, and All Saints, and styled "Collegium Thomæ Wolsey Cardinalis Eboracensis," have already been described in Part I.

Wolsey's complete design embraced a society of one hundred and eighty-six persons; a small portion of whom, including a dean and eighteen secular canons, were at once settled in temporary lodgings. The new buildings rose slowly. Many hundred workmen, including artists of all kinds, were employed on them. The works were stopped, however, on Wolsey's attainder in 1529, and the foundation fell into the King's hands. In 1532 it was refounded by Henry himself, under the name of King Henry VIII.'s College, and a dean and twelve secular canons were placed in it. The King again required its surrender in 1545, before which time he had determined to erect six new bishoprics, of which Peterborough and Oxford were to be taken out of the diocese of Lincoln. The revenues of the College were accordingly applied to the support of the new

⁴ "The exact situation of this stone has not been ascertained; but it is supposed to have been laid at the south-east corner of the great quadrangle, nearly under the archway, above which is the statue of the Cardinal."—*Ingram's Memorials*.

see, the jurisdiction of which extended over the entire county of Oxford, and which was fixed at first at Oseney, the great Augustinian Abbey, which stood within a short distance of the western wall of Oxford. Here it continued from 1542 to 1545, when King Henry re-established his college at Oxford, styling it "*Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxoniensis, ex fundatione Regis Henrici Octavi.*" To this establishment the see of Oxford was now attached, the Bishop being placed at the head of the foundation. No further changes have taken place, although the bishop has long ceased to reside within the walls of the college.

The first bishop of Oseney and of Oxford was—

[A.D. 1542—1557.] ROBERT KING, descended from an old Devonshire family, which professed to trace itself upwards to the stock of the kings of Wessex. Robert King had been early admitted as a Cistercian monk at Rewley (Royal-lieu), near Oxford. He afterwards became abbot, first of Thame, and then of Oseney; and 1535 was consecrated suffragan of Lincoln, under the title of Bishop of Rheon, in the province of Athens. In 1542 he became Bishop of Oseney, and in 1545 Bishop of Oxford, as already mentioned. Little or nothing is known of his real character, which may not necessarily have been an unworthy one because, as Strype informs us, "he passed through all the changes under King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary;" or because "when suffragan he preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he most fiercely inveighed against such as used the New Testament," whilst in Queen Mary's reign he was "a persecutor of the Protestants." He died in 1557, leaving a considerable personal estate to his nephew, Philip King; "which it seems," says Fuller, "was quickly consumed, so that John King, Bishop of London (son of Philip), used to say he believed there was a fate in abbey money no less than abbey land, which seldom proved fortunate, or of continuance to the owners *."

Robert King was buried in the north-east part of the choir, but his monument was removed, about the year 1630, by his relatives John and Henry King, (sons of the Bishop of London; Henry was afterwards Bishop of Chichester,) to the south choir-aisle, where it now remains. The window above it was the gift of the same members of the King family, both of whom were at this time canons of Christ Church. (For an ample history of this branch of the "ancient Devonshire family," see the introduction and notes to Bishop Henry King's "Poems and Psalms," edited by the Rev. J. Hannah. London. 1843.)

The successors of Bishop King in the see of Oxford have scarcely been men of celebrity. It remained vacant for ten years after his death, when

[A.D. 1567—Oct. 1568] HUGH CURWEN was translated to it. He had been Queen Mary's Archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor of Ireland; but preferring, according to Godwin, the

'Curwen was a "moderate Papist" according to Fuller, who explains the fact that "no person, of what quality soever, in all Ireland, did suffer martyrdom" in Queen Mary's days, by the following remarkable story:—"About the third of the reign of Queen Mary, a pursuivant was sent with a commission into Ireland to empower some eminent persons to proceed with fire and faggot against poor Protestants. It happened, by Divine Providence, this pursuivant at Chester lodged in the house of a Protestant inn-keeper, who having got some inkling of the matter, secretly stole his commission out of his cloak-bag, and put the knave of clubs in the room thereof. Some weeks after, he appeared before the Lords of the Privy Council at Dublin, (of whom Bishop Curwen a principal,) and produced a card for his pretended commission. They caused him to be committed to prison for such an affront, as done on design to deride them. Here he lay for some months, till with much ado he got his enlargement. Then over he returned to England, and quickly getting his commission renewed, makes with all speed for Ireland again. But before his arrival there, he was prevented with the news of Queen Mary's death; and so the lives of many, and the liberties of more poor servants of God, were preserved."—*Worthies—Westmoreland.*

"tranquillity and repose" of Oxford, he procured his translation thither. In the following year, "very decrepid, broken with old age and many state affairs," says Fuller, he died at Swinbroke, near Burford, and was interred in the parish church there.

For twenty years (1568—1589) the see of Oxford was again vacant. Fuller asserts, what was probably the truth, that "the cause that church was so long a widow, was the want of a competent estate to prefer her." At length, [A.D. 1589—1592] JOHN UNDERHILL, Rector of Lincoln College, one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, and himself a native of Oxford, was appointed to it. He was buried in the choir of his cathedral.

A vacancy of eleven years [1592—1604] again occurs.

[A.D. 1604—1618.] JOHN BRIDGES, Dean of Salisbury, was appointed on the accession of James I. A "competent estate," though by no means a great one, had by this time been found for the support of the see; and the succession of bishops continues henceforth unbroken.

[A.D. 1619, translated to Durham 1628.] JOHN HOWSON, student and canon of Christ Church, was consecrated, says Fuller, "on his birthday, in his climacterical, he then entering upon the sixty-third year of his age." He was a writer of considerable reputation; his four sermons "against the Pope's supremacy," "enjoyed on him by King James (to clear his causeless aspersion of favouring Popery,) and never since replied unto by the Romish party, have made him famous to all posterity," according to Fuller. He was one of the original members of Chelsea College, founded by James I. for the defence of the Church of England, and "to afford divines leisure and other conveniences to spend their time wholly in controversy, and maintain the Reformation against Papists and Dissenters." A provost and seventeen fellows were established in it, besides two historians, "who were to transmit the affairs

‡ Worthies—Oxfordshire.

of Church and State to posterity^h." The design, however, soon proved an entire failure; and the buildings and endowments were afterwards appropriated to their present use—the support and maintenance of superannuated soldiers. Bishop Howson died in 1632.

[A.D. 1628, translated to Norwich in 1632.] RICHARD CORBET, Dean of Christ Church. (See NORWICH CATHEDRAL.)

[A.D. 1632—1641.] JOHN BANCROFT, Master of University College, was the nephew of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. He recovered much land, which had been alienated, for his college, and did much for his see, the revenues of which were still but scanty. He obtained the royalty of Shotover for it, and annexed to it in perpetuity the vicarage of Cuddesdon, "where he built a fair palace and a chapel, expending on both about three thousand five hundred poundsⁱ." "*Cujus munificentiae*" (said the Oxford Orator to the King at Woodstock) "*debemus, quod incertis mitra, surrexerit e pulvere in palatium.*" The palace was burnt during the civil war, but was afterwards rebuilt, and has been restored and enlarged by the present (1861) Bishop of Oxford. Bishop Bancroft was buried in the parish church of Cuddesdon.

[A.D. 1641, translated to Worcester 1663.] ROBERT SKINNER, was translated to Oxford from the see of Bristol. Bishop Skinner was imprisoned during the civil war, and expelled from his see. He remained in obscurity until the Restoration, when he was elevated to the see of Worcester. He died in 1670 at the age of eighty, the last English bishop who had been consecrated before the Great Rebellion.

[A.D. 1663—1665.] WILLIAM PAUL, Dean of Lichfield; collected materials for the restoration of his palace at Cuddesdon, but died before the work was begun. He was buried at Baldwin Brightwell, in Oxfordshire, where his monument remains.

^h Collier, Church History, pt. ii. bk. 8.

ⁱ Fuller, Worthies—Oxfordshire.

[A.D. 1665, translated to Worcester 1671.] WALTER BLANDFORD, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, was consecrated by the Bishops of London, Gloucester, and Exeter, in the chapel of New College.

[A.D. 1671, translated to Durham 1674.] NATHANIEL CREWE, Fellow of Lincoln and Dean of Chichester. For a full notice of this bishop, who died in 1731, see DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

[A.D. 1674, translated to London 1675.] HENRY COMPTON, Canon of Christ Church, and Master of St. Cross, near Winchester, was the youngest son of the second Earl of Northampton, killed fighting on the side of the King at Hopton Heath in 1643. As Bishop of London, King Charles appointed him guardian of his nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne; the marriage ceremony for both of whom was afterwards performed by Bishop Compton. During the reign of Charles, Bishop Compton made himself conspicuous by his endeavours to reconcile the Protestant Dissenters to the Church of England, and by his opposition to Rome,—services which were remembered to his disadvantage on the accession of James. A pretext was soon found for suspending him from the discharge of his episcopal functions, to which he was not restored until September, 1688. The Bishop, however, at once joined the party of the Prince of Orange; and was the first, after William's arrival in London, to sign the declaration which had been set on foot at Exeter. He assisted at the coronation of William and Mary; and until his death in 1713 laboured, but without effect, to bring about the reconciliation of Dissenters with the Church. Bishop Compton was one of the ten bishops to whom, in conjunction with twenty Anglican divines, a revision of the Book of Common Prayer was entrusted by William III. in 1689. This, it need hardly be said, was never carried into execution¹.

¹ See the proposed alterations in "Procter's History of the Book of Common Prayer," Appendix, Sect. I.

[A.D. 1676—1686.] JOHN FELL, son of Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church, was perhaps the best and most liberal prelate by whom the see of Oxford has been filled; and may almost be regarded as the second founder of Christ Church. At the age of eleven he was placed on the books of the college as student by his father; and during the siege of Oxford by the Parliamentary troops, he served with the Royalists, devoting himself to the cause of King Charles with not less zeal than his father, who died, it is said, of grief, at his parsonage at Sunningwell, on the same day (Feb. 1) in which he heard the news of the King's execution. The future bishop remained in seclusion until the Restoration, when he was made Prebendary of Chichester and Canon of Christ Church, and in November, 1660, succeeded as Dean. He immediately commenced the improvement and decoration of his college, towards which he contributed very considerable sums. His father, about 1640, had built the staircase leading to the hall, with its very rich fan-tracery; and had commenced the north side of the great quadrangle. This was now completed, as was the western gateway, the octagonal tower surmounting which was designed by Sir Christopher Wren. In 1680 the famous bell, Great Tom (still, 1860, the largest in England, owing to the failure of the great bell at Westminster), which had been brought from Oseney and hung in the tower of the cathedral, was recast, and placed in this octagon. Parts of the chaplains' quadrangle, and the range of rooms looking towards the Long Walk, and known as "Fell's buildings," were also the work of the Bishop. Many of the best advowsons belonging to the college were bought by him; and by his will he established ten exhibitions for undergraduate commoners. In order that he might superintend the works in the college, he was permitted to retain his deanery *in commendam* after his elevation to the bishopric, in 1676. He rebuilt the palace at Cuddesdon, for which the materials

had been collected by Bishop Paul. On his death in 1686, he was interred in Christ Church Cathedral, (which he had restored to order, after the troubles of the Rebellion,) where his monument bears the following inscription, by Dean Aldrich :—"Desideratissimi Patris pietatem non hoc *sarum*, sed hæc testentur *maenia*; munificentiam, hujus loci *ædificia*; liberalitatem, *alumni*; quid in moribus potuit reformandis, hæc *ædes*; quid in publicis curis sustentandis, *Academia*; quid in propaganda religione, *Ecclesia*; quam feliciter juventutem erudierit, *Procerum familia*; quam præclare de republica meruit, tota *Anglia*; quantum de bonis literis, universus *orbis literatus*." This praise was far from being unmerited, according to Antony Wood, who declares that Bishop Fell was "the most zealous man of his time for the Church of England; a great encourager and promoter of learning in the University, and of all public works belonging thereunto; of great resolution and exemplary charity, of strict integrity, a learned divine, and excellently skilled in the Latin and Greek languages." He was a great patron of Wood, whose "History and Antiquities of Oxford" was translated into Latin at the charge of Bishop Fell, and partly by the Bishop himself. His own most important work is the "Life of Hammond," first printed in 1660.

[A.D. 1686—1687.] SAMUEL PARKER, a 'chamælion' Churchman, who is only distinguished for his share in James II.'s attack on the liberties of Magdalen College. He was educated "among the Puritans at Northampton," and afterwards at Wadham and Trinity Colleges, Oxford, in the latter of which he became alive, after the Restoration, to the superior advantages of conformity. In 1663 he took Orders, and was afterwards much patronised by Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury. As a courtier, his servility procured him the favour of James II., who in 1686 made him Bishop of Oxford, and by a royal mandamus constituted him President of Magdalen. (The well-known

story of this intrusion, which need not be detailed here, will be found in Macaulay's "History of England," vol. ii., and in Bloxam's "History of Magdalen College.") Bishop Parker subsequently declared himself prepared to embrace Romanism, and wrote in defence of transubstantiation. He never openly abandoned the English Church, however, and died at Magdalen College, March 20, 1687. He was buried in the chapel.

[A.D. 1688—1690.] TIMOTHY HALL, an obscure person, raised to the episcopate through the influence of James II., in October, 1688, whilst the Revolution was imminent. He died in April of the following year.

[A.D. 1690, translated to Lichfield 1699.] JOHN HOUGH, the President of Magdalen, chosen by the Fellows of his college in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had nominated to the presidency, first Antony Farmer, and then Bishop Parker. Hough was in consequence expelled, together with twenty-five of the Fellows. From Lichfield he was translated to Worcester in 1717. He died in 1743. (See WORCESTER.)

[A.D. 1699, translated to Salisbury in 1715.] WILLIAM TALBOT. In 1721 he was translated to Durham, and died 1730.

[A.D. 1715, translated to Canterbury 1737.] JOHN POTTER. He died 1747. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1737, translated to Canterbury 1758.] THOMAS SECKER; was translated to Oxford from Bristol. He died 1768. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1758, translated to Salisbury 1766.] JOHN HUMB, like his predecessor, had been consecrated to the see of Bristol. He died 1782.

[A.D. 1766, translated to London 1777.] ROBERT LOWTH, translated to Oxford from St. David's, to which he had been consecrated in the same year, 1766.

[A.D. 1777, translated to Hereford 1788.] JOHN BUTLER, died 1802.

[A.D. 1788—1799.] EDWARD SMALLWELL, translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1799, translated to Bangor 1807, and thence to London 1809.] JOHN RANDOLPH, died 1813.

[A.D. 1807—1811.] CHARLES MOSS.

[A.D. 1812—1815.] WILLIAM JACKSON.

[A.D. 1816—1827.] EDWARD LEGGE.

[A.D. 1827—1829.] CHARLES LLOYD.

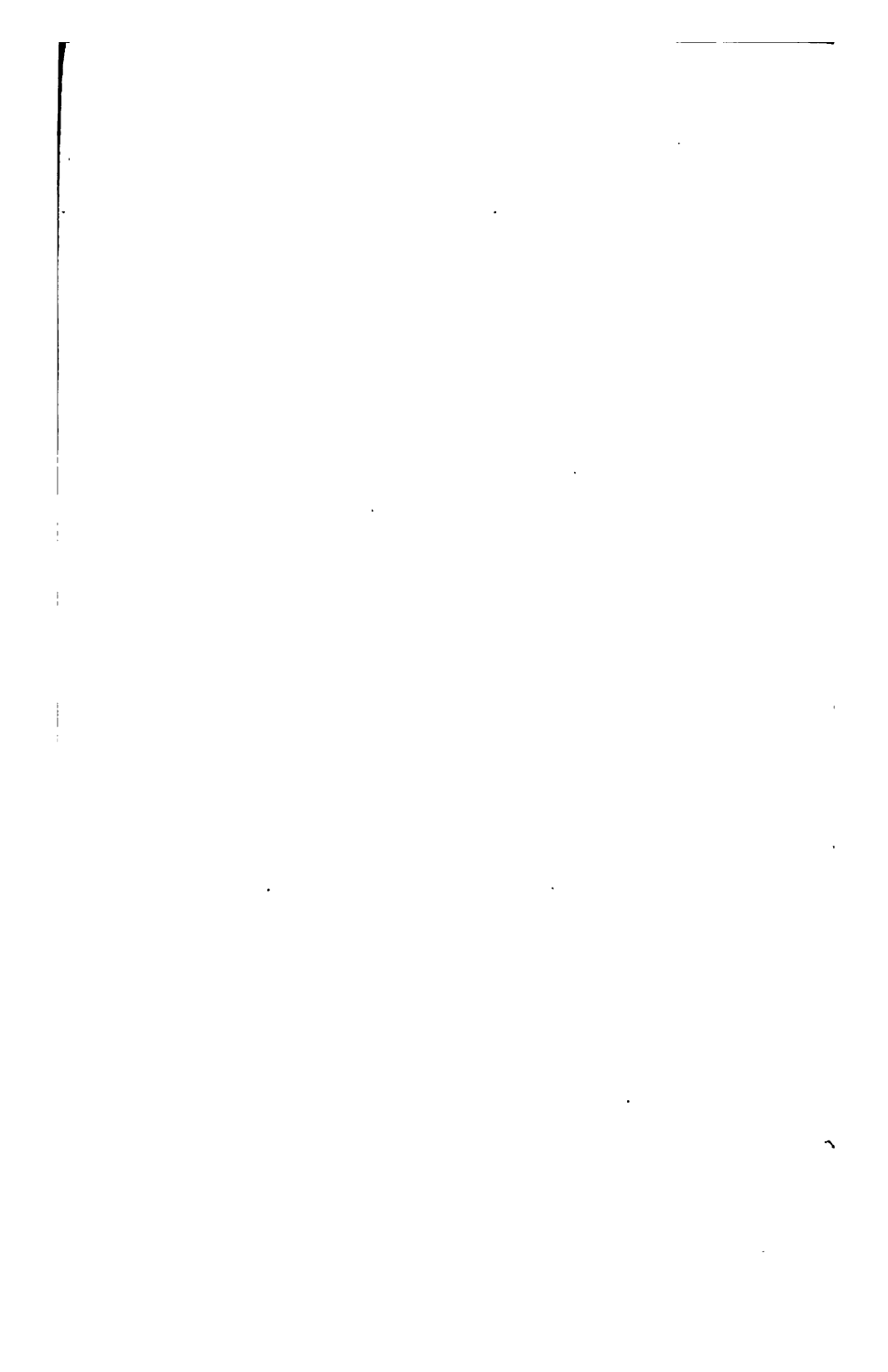
[A.D. 1829, translated to Bath and Wells 1845; died the same year.] RICHARD BAGOT.

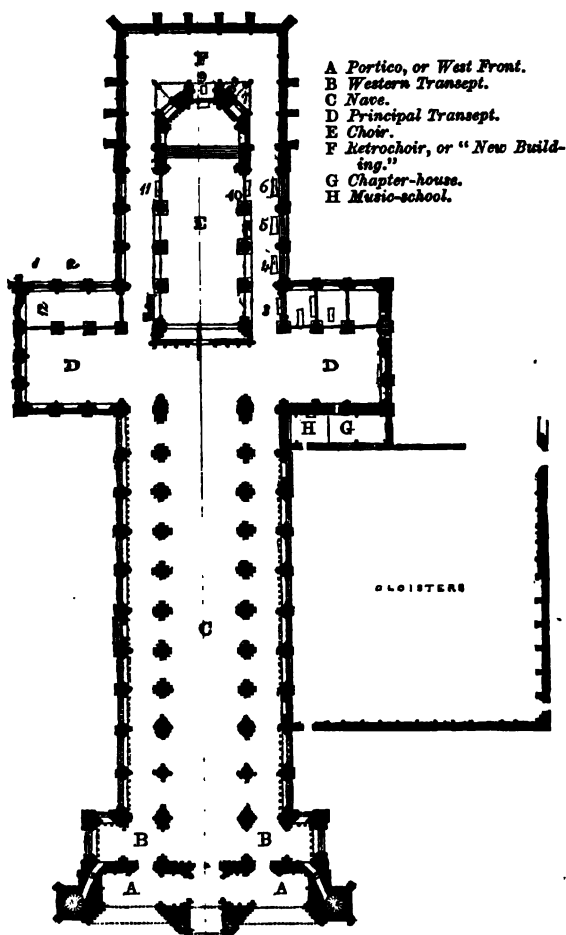
[A.D. 1845.] SAMUEL WILBERFORCE.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

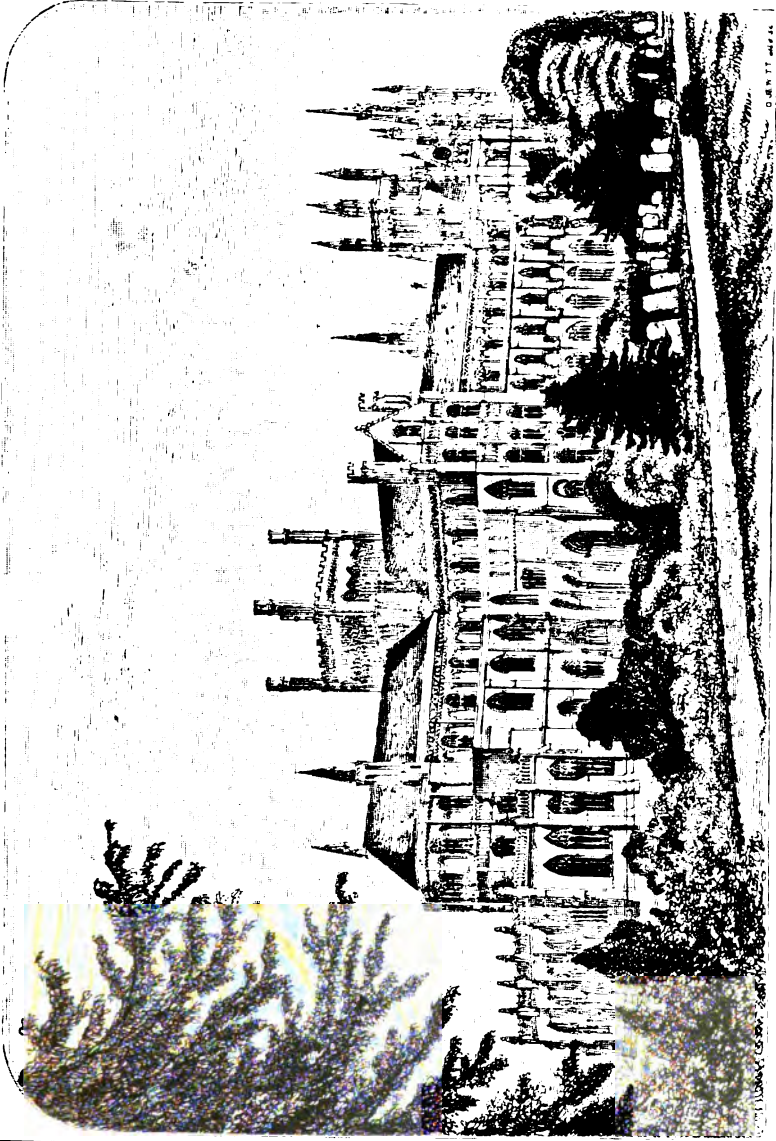


ABBOT'S GATEWAY,
(now Gateway of the Palace).





FRONTISPIECE



GENERAL VIEW, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL*.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE cathedral of Peterborough was the conventual church of one of the most important Benedictine abbeys in England, founded towards the middle of the seventh century by Peadar, the first Christian King of Mercia. On the dissolution the church was spared, owing, it is said, to its containing the remains of Queen Catherine of Arragon. It became the cathedral of the new diocese, which embraced the counties of Northampton and Rutland. (See Part II. for a full history of these changes). John Chambers, the last abbot, was created the first Bishop of Peterborough.

II. The dates and architectural character of the principal portions of the cathedral are as follows:—

Choir and eastern aisles of transept (1118—1133, Abbots John of Seez and Martin of Bec), early Norman. *Transept*, and probably a small portion of the *nave*

* It is proper to acknowledge the great use which has been made in the following account of Mr. Paley's "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral." London, George Bell, 1859.

(1155—1177, Abbot William de Waterville), middle Norman.

Nave (1177—1193, Abbot Benedict), late Norman.

Western transept (also, in all probability, part of Abbot Benedict's work), transition Norman.

West front and remains of the Lady-chapel, Early English.

Eastern aisle, or new building (begun 1438, completed 1496—1528, Abbots Ashton and Kirton), Perpendicular.

From the apse of the choir to the west front, therefore, the cathedral affords an excellent example of the gradual changes in style from early Norman to fully developed Early English; whilst the Perpendicular work of the "new building" is of scarcely less value. Peterborough takes a very high, if not the highest place among English cathedrals of the second class, and has one unique feature,—the grand triple arch of its west front. The entire church is built of Barnack stone,—a close-grained and most durable freestone from the quarries near Stamford, known as the "hills and holes of Barnack," which had been worked from a very early period, and to which Northamptonshire is indebted for the materials of the many fine churches which distinguish the county^b.

III. Before entering the Close, the visitor should

^b These quarries became exhausted before the fifteenth century; for in Barnack Church itself, the alterations of that period are in a different stone, and not in the old Barnack stone of which the rest of the church is built.

place himself in front of the market-house, and remark from that point the view of the west front, and the western gateway of the abbey precincts, rising just as they did six hundred years ago above the old 'burgh' or town, which gradually sprang up under the protection of the Benedictines. The scene is picturesque, although it is to be regretted that no good unimpeded view of the cathedral is to be obtained at this distance.

The *western gateway* was originally the work of ABBOT BENEDICT (1177—1193), under whom the nave of the cathedral was erected. The Norman vault of the gateway is groined with plain cross-ribs, agreeing exactly with the vaulting of the aisles; and a Norman arcade remains on either side, one of the arches of which, north and south, is larger than the rest, and is pierced for a door. The west front has been faced with Perpendicular work, and a Perpendicular story above the gate has taken the place of a chapel of St. Nicholas, which formed part of Benedict's design. The window above the arch on the east side was part of a Perpendicular shrine, the rest of which remains in the cathedral. It is much to be regretted that the two portions should have been separated.

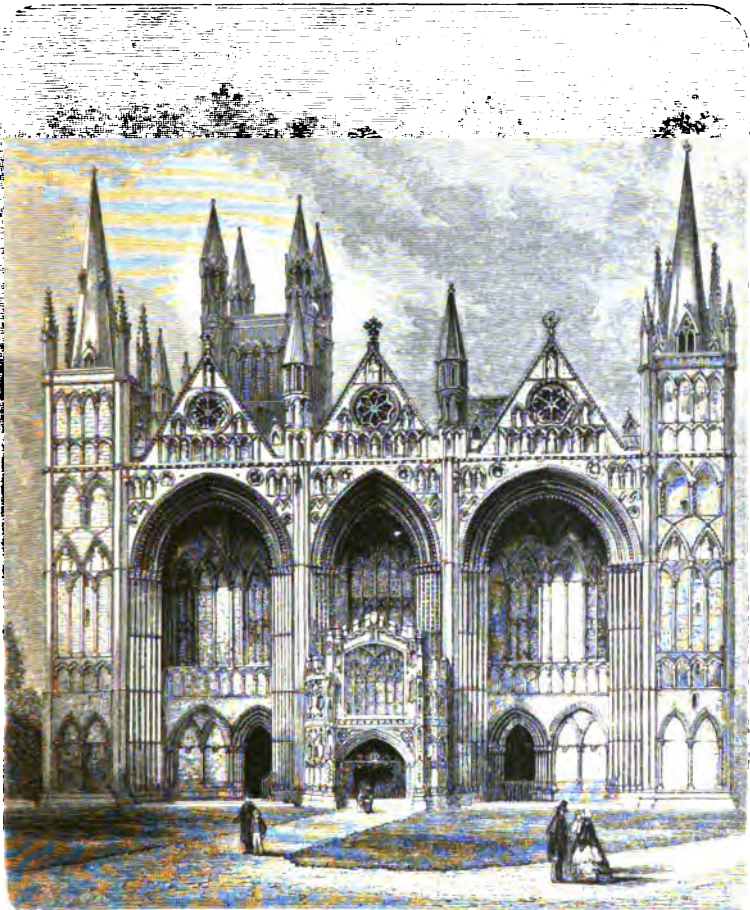
IV. It was at this gateway of "Peterborough the Proud," as the abbey was popularly called, that all visitors, of whatever rank, put off their shoes before entering the holy precincts; a pilgrimage to which, in certain cases, was regarded as equivalent to a visit to Rome. As he passes beneath the arch, a most striking view of the *west front* of the cathedral breaks upon the

visitor. On the left is the chancel of Becket's chapel, founded by Abbot Benedict, and now forming a part of the Grammar-school. On the right hand is the ancient gateway of the abbots' lodgings, now that of the episcopal palace (§ xxv.), and in front, across an open space of greensward, rise the three great arches of the west front, or, strictly speaking, the gigantic west porch, for the two piers are entirely detached, and stand several feet in advance of the actual wall of the west front.

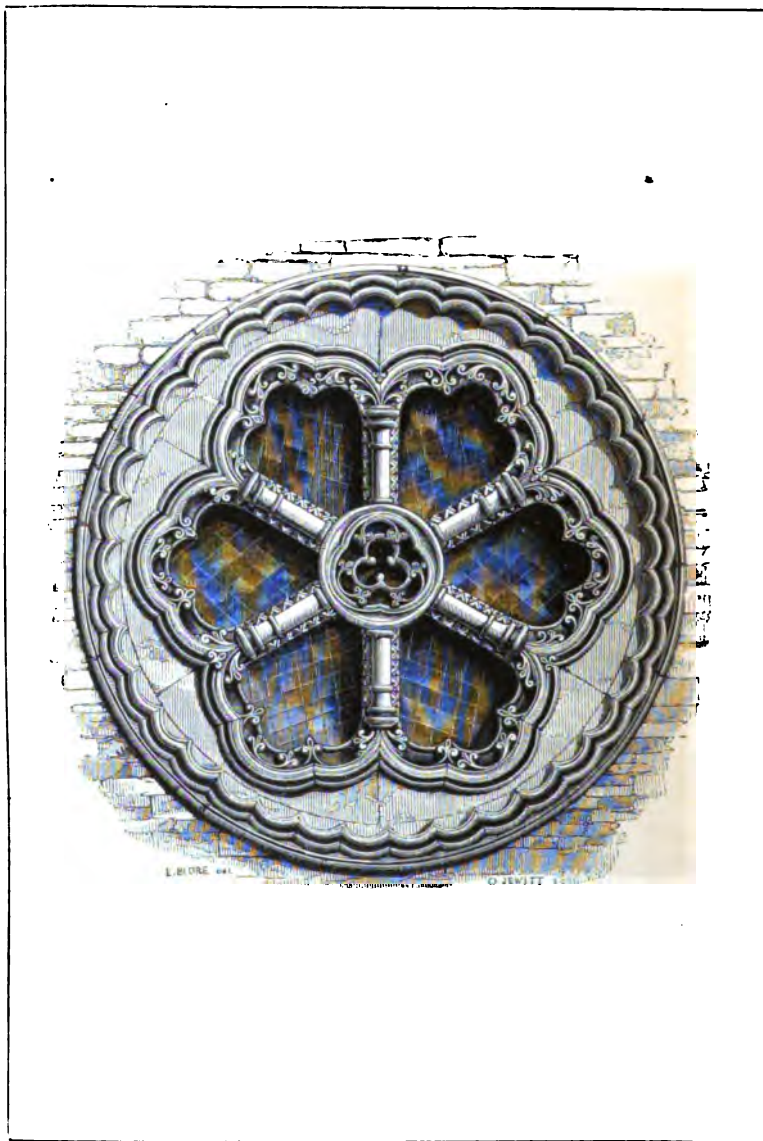
This porch, which is of the purest Early English architecture, dates, in all probability, between the years 1200 and 1222, during which period Acharius and Robert of Lindsey were abbots. It is remarkable that neither of the local chroniclers has recorded the building of it, or that of the western transept behind it. The work, however, "seems about coeval with the chapter-house at Lincoln, and the west porch at Ely, both of which were built shortly after 1200, and have very florid and elaborate details." . . . "The fineness of the masonry, and the close jointing of the deeply-moulded arch-stones, are unsurpassed by anything of this period in the kingdom^c."

The front [Plate I.] consists of three enormous arches, eighty-one feet in height, that in the centre being narrower than the other two. The arches are supported by triangular piers, entirely and boldly detached from the west wall. They are faced with banded shafts; and beyond them, north and south, rises a square turret,

^c F. A. Paley, "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral," p. 83.



WEST FRONT.



CIRCULAR WINDOW IN THE WEST FRONT.

capped with a spire and pinnacles. The arches themselves support gables, much enriched with arcades and niches, and having in each a circular or 'rose' window. [Plate I.*] A turret, terminating in a small spire, rises between each gable. The work of arches, gables, and turrets is entirely Early English; but the spires and pinnacles which terminate the flanking turrets are late Decorated additions. Those of the north turret remain incomplete. The height from the ground to the top of these spires is 156 feet; the width of the west front is exactly the same.

All the details of this front deserve the most careful examination. The capitals and leaf-ornaments of the shafts which line the piers, as well as the mouldings of the arches themselves, are of pure Early English character, and very graceful. The manner in which a clustered shaft ascends in front of the piers and between the arches, and terminates below the square basement supporting the turrets between the gables, should especially be noticed. These turrets are octangular, and in two stages; the upper of which is pierced by narrow lights, bordered by a chevron moulding. The spires which cap them rise slightly above the gables. The gables themselves are of equal height and width. The very ingenious manner in which they are made to correspond, in spite of the inequality of the three great arches below them, will be seen at once by a comparison of their bases. On each gable is an open cross, that in the centre being the richest. In a niche at the top of the central gable is a figure of St. Peter with the

keys. In the two side niches are St. Paul and St. Andrew; the church having been dedicated in the names of these three saints by the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter (Grostête and Brewere) in 1237, when the west front must have been recently completed^d. In the niches on either side of the circular windows are six small figures, said to be those of the six kings of England from the Conquest to the time of the erection of the front. Below, and placed in a most graceful arcade at the base of each gable, are nine figures of apostles, each of which has a circular nimbus. Figures of saints and ecclesiastics, which can no longer be identified, are placed in the spandrels of the great arches. The flanking turrets are enriched with blank arcades, of varying size and details. The spire and pinnacles which crown the south turret are Decorated (*circa* 1360), and of extreme beauty. Those of the north turret are very meagre, and were perhaps never completed.

V. Between the central piers of the front, rising to about half their height and slightly projecting beyond them, is a parvise, or porch with an upper chamber, of late Decorated character, and apparently added about

^d This consecration took place most probably in obedience to a decree of the Council of London (convened in the same year, 1237, by the Cardinal Otho, Legate of Pope Gregory IX.), which ordered that all churches and cathedrals, "not having been consecrated with holy oil, though built of old," should be solemnly dedicated within two years. This consecration in obedience to a general order, is of course no evidence as to the date of the completion of the building; a remark which applies to many other churches consecrated at this period.

1370. The porch is much enriched, and is in itself a fine composition. It materially injures the uniform effect of the front; but its insertion seems to have been rather a question of necessity than of taste. It was probably erected "as an abutment against the west front, which, by a bulging outwards of the pillars or a settlement of the foundations, was falling forward toward the west. It was, in fact, overweighted by the stone spires and pinnacles of the flanking towers, which those structures, having no proper buttresses, were ill adapted to bear. . . . The construction of this elegant little edifice is extremely scientific, especially in the manner in which the thrust is distributed through the medium of the side turrets, so as to fall upon the buttresses in front. These turrets, being erected against one side of the triangular columns, on the right and the left hand, support them in two directions at once, viz. from collapsing towards each other, and from falling forward. . . . The latter pressure is thrown wholly upon the buttresses in front, which project seven feet beyond the base of the great pillars*."

The bosses on the vault of the porch should be noticed. On one of them is an unusual representation of the Trinity,—the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove proceeding out of the glory of the Father. The room above now serves as the chapter library.

VI. The west wall of the church, within the great arches, is enriched with various arcades. In the opening of each arch is a doorway with a window above it,

* F. A. Paley.

the latter being Decorated insertions. The three doorways are unusually fine. That in the centre is divided into two arches by a shaft, the base of which displays a Benedictine tortured by demons—a perpetual “sermon in stone” for the monks. The wooden doors themselves are the original ones, as is shewn by the chevron moulding on the interior framework. An Early English vaulted roof connects the façade with the west wall of the church.

“As a portico,” says Mr. Fergusson, “using the term in its classical sense, the west front of Peterborough is the grandest and finest in Europe; though wanting in the accompaniments which would enable it to rival some of the great façades of Continental cathedrals’.” There is no similar arrangement on an important scale in England, although on the Continent it is not uncommon, as at Amiens and Chartres². Nowhere is the triple entrance to the sanctuary—typical, it is usually considered, of the Holy Trinity—grander, or more emphatically marked. The effects of light and shade produced by the great piers and arches of this “majestick front of columel-work,” as Fuller calls

¹ Handbook of Architecture, p. 869.

² The large and lofty arches in the (Norman) west front of Lincoln may possibly have given the original idea to the architect of Peterborough. On a small scale, the west front of Peterborough was imitated at Snettisham, Norfolk. “The nave of Fredericton Cathedral is a copy of Snettisham, and this feature is not omitted. It is very well suited for a cold climate, and it has accordingly been repeated at Montreal.”—*A. B. Hope, English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 247.

it, are wonderful. The upper portion of the space within them is generally in deep shadow, even at sunset, when the rest of the front is glowing with rosy light: this moment should be watched for by the visitor, —and the effect of a full moon is still more impressive. The entire front, it should here be added, was repaired and restored before 1830, by Dr. Monk, then Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

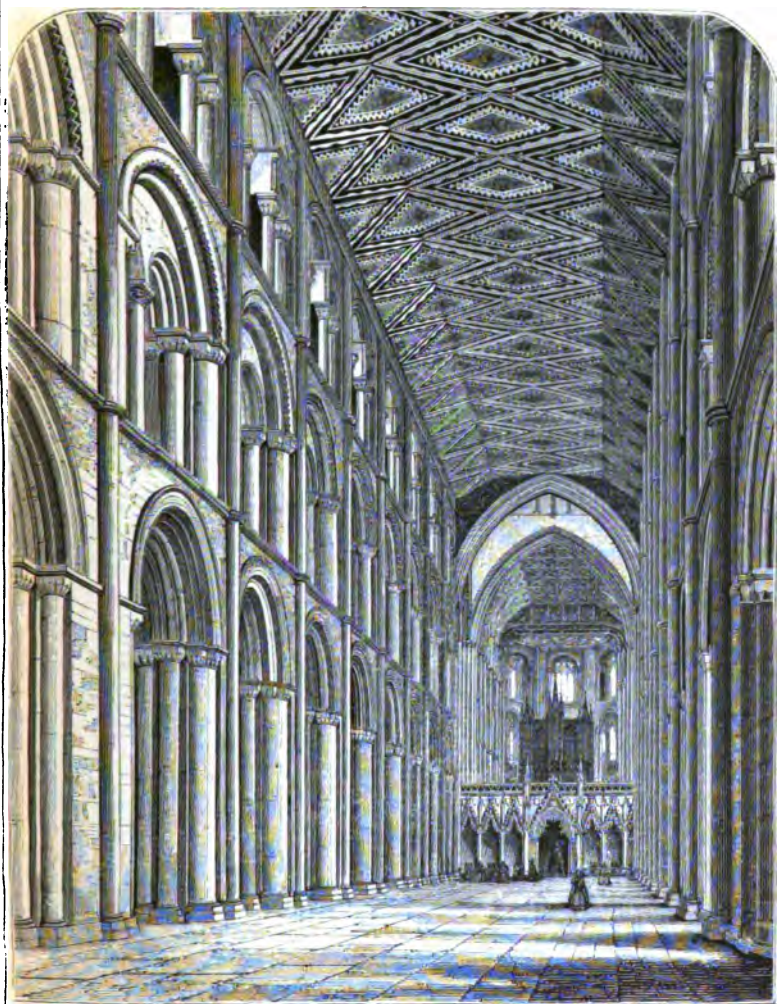
VII. On entering the cathedral we find ourselves in the *west transept*; extending across the nave, and projecting one bay beyond the aisle on either side. This transept was an addition to the Norman nave during the period of the great transition of styles, and, like the nave itself, was probably the work of Abbot BENEDICT (1177—1193; see § VIII.) The naves of the neighbouring cathedrals of Ely and Lincoln terminate in a similar manner; but the west transept of Ely is probably earlier (1174—1189), and that of Lincoln later (1209—1220) than the west transept of Peterborough. The vaulting and arch-mouldings are of transition Norman character, and much enriched. Lofty arches, parallel with the nave-aisles, support towers, of which, except one stage of the north tower, no portion above the roofs was completed at the same time as the transept, (§ XII.) In the bays beyond the towers are two long windows north and south, and two narrower east, the tracery of which is Early English. They have transoms, with cusped headings to the lower lights,—an unusual and early example. The Norman clerestory windows above are filled with Perpendicular

tracery. Whether the existing west wall belonged originally to this transept, or to the Early English west front, is an architectural problem which must be allowed to remain unsolved^h. An Early English arcade, pierced for three doorways, runs along it; and above each doorway is a window with Perpendicular tracery. A wall-passage runs through their jambs.

The bells, which hang in the north-west tower, are rung from the floor of this transept. The Early English font, which has been restored, is placed under the great south window. The view up the nave-aisles, with their long perspective of circular vaulting-ribs, is very striking.

VIII. The *nave* [Plate II.] is throughout Norman, the work of Abbots DE WATERVILLE and BENEDICT (1155—1193), and a continuation of the choir, which was completed in 1133. Peterborough is one of three Norman cathedrals, the other two being Ely and Norwich, which are separated by no great distances, and may be advantageously compared. Of these the earliest is Norwich (1091—1119), the original design of which has been least interfered with, and which still affords the most perfect example of an early Norman church remaining in England. The nave of Ely, completed in 1174, is nearly contemporary with that of Peterborough, which it greatly resembles. Peterborough, however, retains its Norman choir and apse; and its ground-plan is only second in interest to that of Norwich. The dimen-

^h See it fully discussed in Mr. Paley's pamphlet.



THE NAVE, FROM THE WEST

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sions of the actual nave exceed those of either Ely or Norwich:—

	<i>Peterborough,</i>	<i>Ely,</i>	<i>Norwich,</i>
Length of nave {	(from west transept to western pier of central tower.)	(from western transept to octagon.)	(to choir screen.)
	211 ft.	203.	200.
Width of nave } (without aisles). }	33 ft.	30.	28.
Height.	81 ft.	72. 9.	69. 6.

The choir of Norwich, however, is extended into the nave, which measures 250 ft. to the central tower; and at Ely the grandeur of the later additions, the great west tower and the octagon, produces an effect before which Peterborough fades into complete insignificance. The view eastward at Peterborough is intercepted by the organ, which is placed over the choir-screen: the windows of the Norman apse, however, are seen beyond it; and the wooden ceiling of the nave, which is no doubt the original one, gives an especial interest to the interior of this cathedral.

The nave, which consists of ten bays, has massive cylindrical piers, with smaller shafts set against them, and well moulded circular arches¹. The *triforium*, which closely resembles that of Ely, has a wide semi-circular arch, with zigzag moulding, embracing two smaller ones, divided by a single shaft. The *clerestory* above has three semicircular arches, (of which that in the centre, higher than the rest, springs from slender

¹ The third pier, counting from the east, however, and others at the west end, have nook-shafts set in triangular recesses against the body of the masonry. The original plan may have been that they should have ranged alternately with the cylindrical, as at Ely. This may have been changed by Benedict.

shafts, set on the capitals of those below,) circumscribed by a pointed hood-moulding. The nave, "from the tower to the west front," is expressly said by the chroniclers of Peterborough to have been the work of Abbot BENEDICT (1177—1193). It has been suggested, however, that his predecessor, Abbot WATERVILLE, who built the central tower, must necessarily, in order to its safety, have completed some portion of the nave. Mr. Paley has accordingly pointed out some differences which may mark the point of junction between his work and Benedict's. "Immediately above the *fourth* pillar on the *north* side, the column which supports the triforium arch, as well as that of the clerestory above it, has its capitals enriched with *Early English* foliage in place of the plain cushion-capital which is elsewhere seen. This seems to mark that the Norman work of Benedict is *assimilated*, or imitative, i.e. built in conformity with the rest in a style then becoming obsolete^k." It also shews that his new work finished at this point, having been begun, as usual, at both ends of the nave. The mouldings of the bases of the piers in this part are also Early English, differing entirely from the rest, which are plain Norman. Eastward of the last bay of Benedict's work the tympana of the triforium are hatched, like those of the transepts, whilst all the rest are plain. The courses of stone in the first four piers on each side vary from twenty to twenty-four; those westward, from twenty-five to twenty-seven courses, (counted from base to capital exclusively). The hoodmould of the two eastern arches is

^k Paley, p. 19.

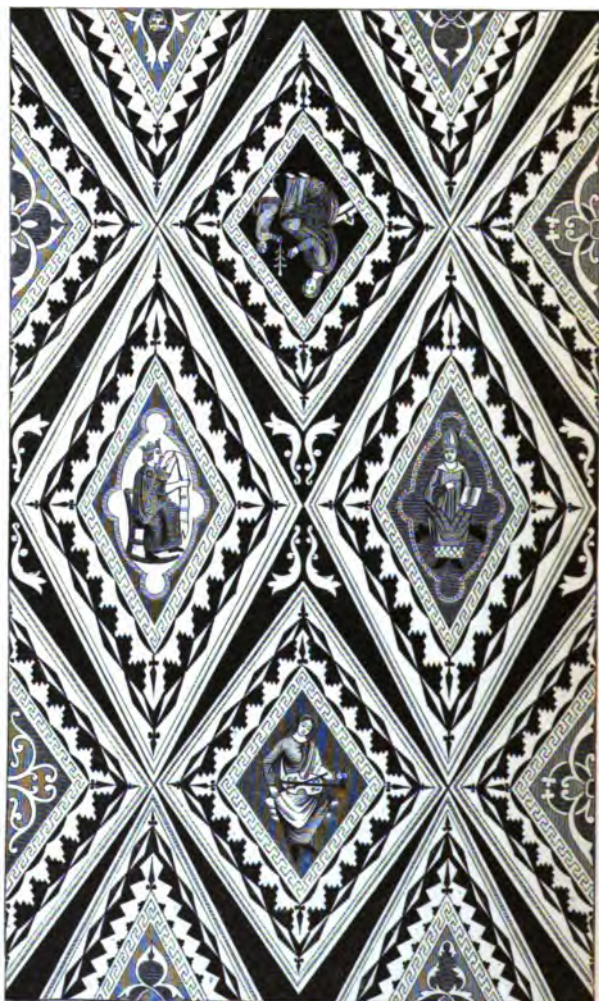
deeper than the rest; the capitals of the shafts plainer and heavier. The distinction in this direction appears to be sufficiently marked. A more evident change at the west end, first pointed out by Mr. Paley, is thought by him to indicate the termination of Abbot Benedict's work in that direction. "The *third* pillar from the *west* end on each side is considerably larger and wider than any others; and it also projects further into the aisles. The arch also, springing from it westward, is of a much greater span. The opposite vaulting-shafts, in the aisle-walls, are brought forward beyond the line of the rest, to meet the pillars in question, so that the arch across the aisles is in this part very much contracted, and instead of being a mere groin-rib, like the rest, is a strong moulded arch, of considerable depth in the soffite. What appears at first sight still more strange, the wall of the aisle opposite to the wider nave-arch just mentioned is brought forward at least a foot internally, but again retires to the old level at the last bay; so that in this particular part the whole thickness of the aisle-wall is considerably greater¹." It is sufficiently plain that these peculiarities mark the former existence of the lower portions of two Norman towers. "The wider nave-arch, with its massive and complex pillars, was the entrance into the tower from each side of the nave. The thicker aisle-wall opposite to it was, in fact, the *tower wall*." In the south triforium gallery, also, there is the springing of a transverse arch at this point, evidently the eastern arch of a south-west tower, intended

¹ Paley, p. 21.

to have been erected there. There is, however, no satisfactory reason for believing these towers to mark the western termination of Abbot Benedict's work. The chroniclers, Robert Swaffham and Abbot John, (the former of whom was for some years contemporary with Benedict himself,) assert expressly that the nave ("a turre usque ad frontem") was constructed by Benedict. The present Early English portico was in existence when they wrote, so that their 'front' can be no other than the western wall of the west transept. Benedict's original design seems in fact to have been changed during the progress of the work. The towers were abandoned, and two more bays were added to the nave, besides the western transept. This was also an afterthought, and is entirely of transitional character, distinct from that of the nave, with the exception of the one capital and of the bases before mentioned, which agree in style with this transept, and the two additional west bays, which approach to it. The capitals of the triforium-shafts and of the main piers in these two bays are worthy of special notice.

The south side of the nave was evidently built before the north side, probably to complete the cloister^m.

^m The Rev. G. A. Poole, in a most valuable paper—"On the Abbey Church of Peterborough"—read before the Architectural Society of Northampton, in 1855, (and printed in their Transactions,) maintains that Benedict was the builder of the entire nave and western transept, in accordance with the statements of the chroniclers. Mr. Paley's view will be found in his "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral."



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PORTION OF THE PAINTED ROOF OF THE NAVE

IX. A single shaft rises from the floor to the roof between each bay of the nave. These shafts formerly supported the rafters of the painted ceiling. When the tower-arches were changed from round to pointed, this remarkable ceiling, which is clearly of the twelfth century, was raised from a flat form to its present shape, which is half octagonal. [Plate III.] It is painted in lozenge-shaped divisions, of which the central and alternate lines on each side contain figures, most of which are seated, and represent royal and ecclesiastical personages, intermixed with very curious grotesques. These are in colours. The bordering and smaller lozenges are painted in black and white, with narrow red lines. The painting on the upper part of the walls, between the present position of the ceiling and the Norman cornice on which it originally rested, is work of the fourteenth century, when the arches were altered, and the Norman ceiling was raised to fit them. In this painting on the walls there are shields of arms of the fourteenth century, and its general character is quite distinct from that of the ceiling itself. The semicircular shafts which separate the bays of the nave, (commonly called vaulting-shafts,) are all terminated in the same manner, sloped off at the top to the Norman string-moulding, which forms a cornice; and on each shaft is a sort of tongue, evidently part of the original design, so that they never had, nor were intended to have, capitals; nor is there any trace of capitals in the walls above the ceiling, as has been rashly asserted; the side-walls are in fact not high enough above the ceiling to

admit of them. The original design was evidently intended for a flat painted ceiling, and although the only other example known in this country of such a ceiling is the one at St. Alban's, there is abundant evidence that it was the usual covering of an early Norman nave, and indeed of any wide central space, whether nave, or chancel, or transepts. On the Continent there are many examples of flat ceilings of the twelfth century, although we are not aware that any have retained their ancient painting. This remarkably interesting ceiling may therefore be unique.

X. The vaulting of the *side aisles* is Norman, with bold and massive cross-ribs. An arcade of intersecting arches runs below the windows, which are late Early English insertions. They are unusual in form, flat-arched, of five lights, and have plate-tracery. The aisle walls were apparently raised when these windows were inserted. The triforium is now lighted by large Decorated windows (*circa* 1360), of three lights. It had originally a steep roof, sloping outward.

In the third bay (from the west) of the south aisle, is the "Abbot's door,"—an Early English doorway opening into what was the ancient cloister, and corresponding with another door in the south cloister walk which led to the abbot's lodgings.

XI. On the north side of the great west door hangs a portrait of "Old Scarlett," the sexton who interred Catherine of Arragon and Queen Mary of Scotland, and who died in 1594, aged ninety-eight. The arms above are those of the see of Peterborough. The inscription runs,—

"You see old Scarlit's picture stand on hie,
 But at your feete here doth his body lye.
 His gravestone doth his age and Death time show,
 His office by thes tokens you may know.
 Second to none for strength and sturdye limm,
 A Scarebabe mighty voice with visage grim.
 Hee had interd two Queenes within this place
 And this townes Householdiers in his lives space
 Twice over : But at length his own time came ;
 What hee for others did for him the same
 Was done : No doubt his soule doth live for aye
 In heaven : Tho here his body clad in clay."

The portrait is curious as an example of costume, but is scarcely a fitting ornament for the nave of a cathedral.

XII. The *central tower*, at the intersection of the nave and eastern transept, was originally built by Abbot DE WATERVILLE (1155—1177), and formed a lantern of four stages". It subsequently proved, however, too heavy for the central piers to support; and in order to prevent the fall of the tower, (which had actually taken place at Ely and Winchester,) it was taken down nearly as far as the crowns of the great arches. The east and west arches were altered from semicircular to pointed; the Norman arches, north and west (which have chevron mouldings) remain. "The pointed hoods inserted above the two round arches mark real arches of construction, devised to remove the weight from the crowns of the

* Mr. Paley suggests that the type of this tower still exists, in the fine central tower at Castor, four miles from Peterborough.

latter. The strong courses of masonry for this purpose may be seen from below when the sun shines brightly on the walls.* The original Norman pillars and capitals remain, but have been adapted to the new work in a manner which should be noticed. The existing lantern is Decorated (*circa*. 1340?), with two lofty windows on each side, filled with Decorated tracery. Graceful vaulting-shafts of wood, in groups of three, carry the lierne roof, in the central boss of which is the Saviour holding a globe. The wooden vaulting, as well as the lightness of the entire lantern, were no doubt rendered necessary from the mischief which the weight of the Norman tower had already caused to the south-east pier, which is much crippled, and bound with iron. The great pillars on the east side have, in fact, "settled very considerably on their foundations, dragging down their adjoining triforium and clerestory arches in a remarkable manner."

The view from beneath the central tower, looking westward, should be noticed. The unusual effect of the west transept, and of the enriched western wall with its windows, is well seen from this point.

XIII. The eastern arches of both *transepts*, as has been already stated, belong, like the choir, to the earliest part of the church, built by Abbots JOHN OF SEEZ and MARTIN OF BEC (1118—1133). The rest of the transepts is the work of Abbot DE WATERVILLE (1155—1177). The arrangement of both transepts is the same. Each consists of three bays. The termina-

* F. A. Paley.

tion of each, north and south, is alike; each having three tiers of semicircular-headed windows (the two upper in the lines of the triforium and clerestory), with a wall-arcade below the lowest tier. The western wall of both transepts has the same arrangement of windows, except that the clerestory tier resembles that of the nave in having a high central light with a lower arch (forming an arcade passage) on either side. From some indications,—such as that the lowest tier of windows have the billet-moulding above them, and that the windows in this wall are straight-sided, whilst those opposite them in the north transept are splayed,—Mr. Paley infers that the work of the transepts was commenced on the south side, where it was at first executed in imitation of the older work of the choir and eastern transept-aisles, and completed on the north side in rather a plainer manner. The splaying of the windows was an evident improvement. The windows throughout the transepts (except those in the eastern aisles) are filled with Perpendicular tracery.

The *eastern aisles* are divided from the transept by massive piers, alternately round and octangular, supporting arches which are slightly stilted. They have plain cushioned capitals. A billet-moulding surrounds each arch, which has a plain rib in the soffit. The triforium above resembles that in the nave, except in having many of the tympana hatched. The clerestory is the same as on the west side: vaulting-shafts rise to the roof between the arches: a chevroned stringcourse runs at the foot of the triforium; a plain moulding

above it. The 'heaviness' of the masses, and the style of ornamentation (the billet, chevron, and indented or hatched moulding are alone used), sufficiently indicate the early date of these aisles, which precisely resemble the choir in all their details. "It seems to be one continuous piece of work throughout." The difference between this portion and the rest of the transept will be at once recognised by comparing the mouldings of the entrance arches of the choir-aisles with those into the nave-aisles opposite.

The *ceilings* of both transepts are of the same date as that of the nave, which they resemble except in being plainer: they are painted black and white, in medallions. Unlike the nave ceiling, however, these of the transepts remain in their original position, and have never been raised. They may therefore lay claim to a yet higher antiquity.

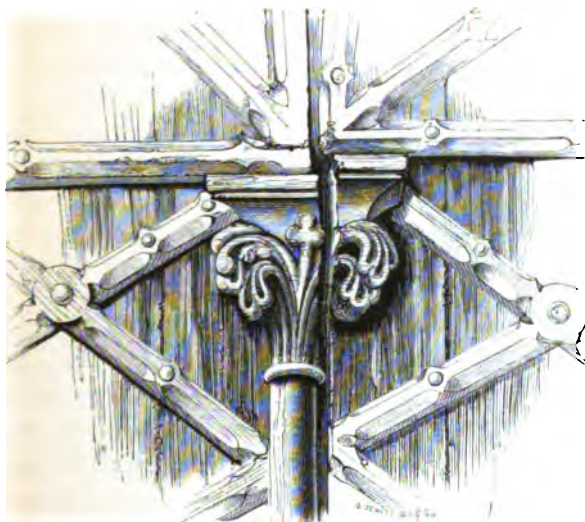
XIV. The eastern aisle of the *north transept* [Plate IV.] is divided from the transept itself by oaken screen-work, of Perpendicular date, but of no very high interest. Some stalls and canopies removed from the choir are placed against the north wall, among which three Early English shafts with gilt capitals should especially be noticed. At the east end of the chancel in Compton Church, Surrey, are some small wooden arches of the same date, which may be compared. The east wall below the windows is hung with tapestry of the sixteenth century,—relics in all probability of hangings which formerly adorned the choir,—representing the delivery of St. Peter from prison, and the

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WOOD CAPITALS.



In the North Transept.



On the Interior of the great West Door.

healing of the lame man at the gate of the Temple. The windows of this aisle are filled with Perpendicular tracery,—except that nearest to the choir, which is geometrical. A Norman doorway in the north wall opens to a staircase leading to the roof. The two closed arches in the northern and central bays on the east side formed the entrance to a very beautiful Lady-chapel of the Early English period (1274), which after the Restoration was demolished for the sake of the materials, in order to repair the great damage which the cathedral had received from Cromwell's troopers^p.

The east aisle of the *south transept* is lighted by three Early English windows, the tracery in the heads of which is of the earliest kind, consisting of foliated circles only. This aisle was divided into three chapels, dedicated to St. Oswald, St. Benedict, and St. Kyneburga, by stone partitions of the same date as the aisle itself, one of which has an intersecting Norman arcade.

^p This Lady-chapel must have been a magnificent structure, rivalling that of Ely, which is in the same situation. The lower part of the gable of the roof can be seen against the outer wall of the clerestory of this transept, and shews that the chapel was considerably higher than this side wall. The southern bay of the aisle of the transept on the east side has an Early English window, which seems to shew the pattern of those of the Lady-chapel, also used in the south transept. There was the width of one bay between the Lady-chapel and the north aisle of the chancel, and a chantry chapel was erected in this space in the fifteenth century, of which there are traces in the wall of the aisle. There was a passage from the aisle to the Lady-chapel, of which the arch remains in the wall of the third bay.

Brackets on each side of the altars remain in the east wall. Similar divisions for chapels of Early English date exist in the transepts of Lincoln Cathedral.

A Decorated doorway in the west wall of this transept opens to a small building of transition Norman character, now used partly as a music school, and partly as the chapter-house. It was anciently known as the "Chapel of the Ostrie,"—a corruption, according to Mr. Paley, of 'hostelry' or guest-house.

XV. The cathedral suffers throughout from the want of stained glass—always of infinite service in increasing the solemn effect of Norman architecture. It was richly furnished in this respect, and retained the greater part of its ancient fittings until long after the Reformation; but in 1643 Peterborough was visited by Cromwell himself, on his way to besiege Crowland; and it is probable that no English cathedral was more completely "set to rights," or underwent more wanton destruction at the hands of the Parliamentary troopers. In spite of special orders to "do no injury to the church," they broke open its doors, and proceeded to shatter the windows, to pull down the fittings of the choir, to destroy the organ and the monuments, including those of the two queens, Catherine and Mary, and to break in pieces the superb reredos of carved stone, painted, gilt, and inlaid with plates of silver. The narrative in the *Mercurius Rusticus* asserts, that "one of the soldiers having charged his musket to shatter down the four Evangelists, in the roof, above the Communion-table, by the rebound of his own shot was struck blind." The

cloisters were then pulled completely down, (the windows had been filled with stained glass of unusual beauty,) and all the charters and evidences belonging to the cathedral were burnt or destroyed. The soldiers appropriated such rich church vestments as they could find; and until their departure they were daily exercised by their officers in the nave of the cathedral.

XVI. This unusual havoc will account for the present condition of the *choir*; all the ancient furniture of which has disappeared. The heavy *organ-screen*, of white stone, was executed under the direction of Dean **MONK**, before 1830; and the stalls and woodwork are also of this date: design and colour are alike unpleasing; but allowance should be made for the period when the work was done, and much credit is due to Dean **Monk** for originating a movement and forming a school of workmen which soon improved and led the way to what has followed in other cathedrals. The choir, as far as the apse, is of four bays; its massive piers are entirely hidden by the tabernacle-work of the stalls. The arrangement and details of triforium and clerestory precisely resemble those of the eastern transept-aisles, except that the piers which alternate with the round ones are ten and twelve-sided instead of octangular. The choir was the recorded work of the two Abbots, **JOHN OF SEEZ** (1118—1125), and **MARTIN OF BEC** (1133—1155); the intervening Abbot, **HENRY OF ANJOU** (1127—1133), did nothing for it. "He lived," says the Saxon Chronicle, "even as a drone in a hive. As the drone eateth and draggeth

forward to himself all that is brought near, even so did he. He did there no good, neither did he leave any there." It is probable that little more than the foundations were completed by John of Seez.

The *apse*, or eastern end of the choir, notwithstanding the changes which have been made, in order to connect it with the New Building beyond, still remains a very fine example of a Norman termination. It should be compared with the slightly earlier eastern apse of Norwich (the work of HERBERT LOSINGA, died 1119). A Norman arch, of which only the pillars remain, originally divided the apse from the choir. A modern screen, of Decorated character, richly diapered in gold and colour, extends across the back of the apse. Above the level of this screen were originally three tiers of Norman windows, five in each tier. The three central windows of the lowest tier were filled with Perpendicular tracery of the same date as the New Building, into which they look; portions of the roof, and the wretched stained window at the eastern end being visible through them. The two side-windows of this tier are built up; but the Decorated tracery which remains in them proves that this tier of windows had been altered before undergoing a second change on the erection of the new building. The triforium windows, in the second tier, whilst they retain their circular headings, are, like the clerestory windows above them, filled with Decorated tracery of the same date, and no doubt inserted at the same time. An intersecting Norman arcade is seen below the triforium window range,

at the back of the wall-passage in which they are set. All these windows are filled with stained glass, most of which is modern and atrocious; that in the two central lights, however, consists of ancient fragments collected from different parts of the church. Norman pilasters run up between the windows. The slight depression in the arches of the three central openings in each tier should be noticed.

The flat roof of the apse, like the eastern screen, has been excellently decorated from the designs of Mr. G. G. Scott. In the centre is the Saviour in majesty; surrounding Him, in medallions placed among the branches of a vine which clusters over the pale blue ground of the ceiling, are half-figures of the Apostles. The whole is bordered by an inscription: "I am the Vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in Me, the same shall bring forth much fruit: for without Me ye can do nothing."

The roof of the choir dates apparently from the close of the fifteenth century. It is of wood, with pendent bosses. The whole has been coloured, the bosses gilt, and medallions containing angels painted between the groining-ribs. Whatever may be the age of this roof, "it seems to indicate that the choir was not covered with a flat ceiling, like the nave and transepts, but probably with an open timber roof, something like the nave of Ely Cathedral. Had there been a flat ceiling, it would surely have been retained for the sake of uniformity."

¹ F. A. Paley.

ÆLFRIC (died 1051) and KINSY (died 1060), Archbishops of York, were buried on the south side of the choir. The latter had been a monk of Peterborough.

XVII. The *south choir-aisle*, which we enter from the transept, is of the same date as the choir itself. The windows are early geometrical, of the same date and character as those in the nave. An intersecting Norman arcade, plainly moulded, lines the wall beneath them. (It may here be remarked, that among the differences to be noted between the choir and the transepts, is the distinction of their wall-arcades; that of the choir-aisles being double and intersected, that of the transepts single.) The vaulting is the same as that of the eastern transept-aisles.

At the west end of the aisle, under a heavy Norman arch enriched with billet-moulding, is an effigy attributed to Abbot ANDREW (1193—1200). He treads on a dragon, the mouth of which is pierced by his staff: in his left hand he holds a book. Remark the rich 'apparel' ornamenting his outer robe. The book, which is usually placed in the hands of Benedictine abbots, is supposed to represent the statutes of their Order. The difference between an abbatial and episcopal staff should also be noticed. The bishop's is generally much enriched, and turned to the right, or outwards, indicating an external jurisdiction; the abbot's plain, and twisted to the left, or inwards, denoting a domestic rule. On the wall above the effigy are the following lines:—



EFFIGY OF ONE OF THE EARLY ABBOTS, IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

"Hos tres Abbates quibus est prior Abba Johannes,
Alter Martinus, Andreas ultimus, unus
Hic claudit tumulus. Pro clausis ergo rogemus."

Three more effigies of early abbots, [Plate V.], said to have been brought from the chapter-house, are placed under the south wall of this aisle. All hold the book of Statutes. The two easternmost (the lowest of which is a good example) are of early Decorated character. Another much shattered effigy is placed under the wall of the choir.

A plain black marble slab, close without the south door of the choir, marks the tomb in which the remains of *Mary Queen of Scots* rested until their removal to Westminster. The execution of the Queen took place on February 8, 1587; but it was not until July 30, 1587, that her body was brought from Fotheringay to Peterborough for interment. It was conveyed by torch-light, in a "chariot" covered with black cloth, and was met at the entrance of the cathedral by Bishop Howland, who conducted it in solemn procession to the vault prepared for it, in which it was immediately laid. On the following day a funeral service was performed, the Countess of Bedford being chief mourner. The Bishop of Lincoln preached; and the heralds broke their staves, and cast them into the vault. Twenty-five years afterwards the body, at the request of James I.^r, was removed to Westminster, under the care of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was

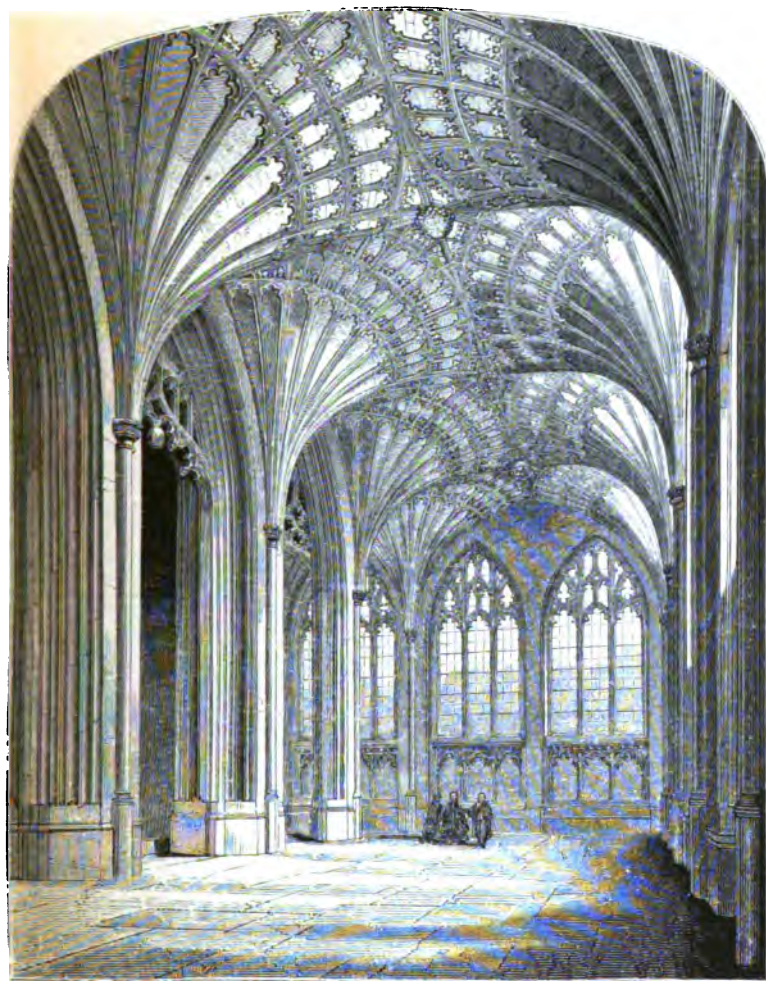
^r The King's autograph letter remains in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

interred where it now lies, Oct. 11, 1612. A lofty "herse," hung with black velvet, was erected over Queen Mary's resting-place at Peterborough, and was removed, with the body, to Westminster. John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop of Peterborough, was interred in this aisle, near the grave of Queen Mary.

The aisle is disfigured by the backs of the choir-stalls. The extreme eastern bay of this and of the opposite aisle is Early English, and has slender vaulting-shafts, with a leafed boss in the centre of the roof. In the south wall is a good double piscina. The two bays thus formed chapels at the ends of the choir-aisles; the original Norman terminations of which, according to Mr. Paley, were square, and not apsidal.

XVIII. The so-called *New Building*, [Plate VI.], which now forms the eastern end of the cathedral, was commenced by Abbot ASHTON in 1438, but not completed until the time of Abbot KIRTON (1496—1528). It is entered from the choir-aisle, through an arch with square ornaments, characteristic of Perpendicular work, in the hollow of the moulding. The Tudor rose, the pomegranate of Catherine of Arragon, the fleur-de-lys, the rebus of Abbot KIRTON (a "kirk" on a tun), and some armorial bearings, appear among these ornaments.

The New Building itself—the view across which, beyond the arch, is a fine one—is a long parallelogram of five bays, and forms, in effect, a third transept, extending across the eastern end of the church. A similar eastern transept existed at Fountains Abbey, and still



THE RETRO-CHOIR, OR "NEW BUILDING."

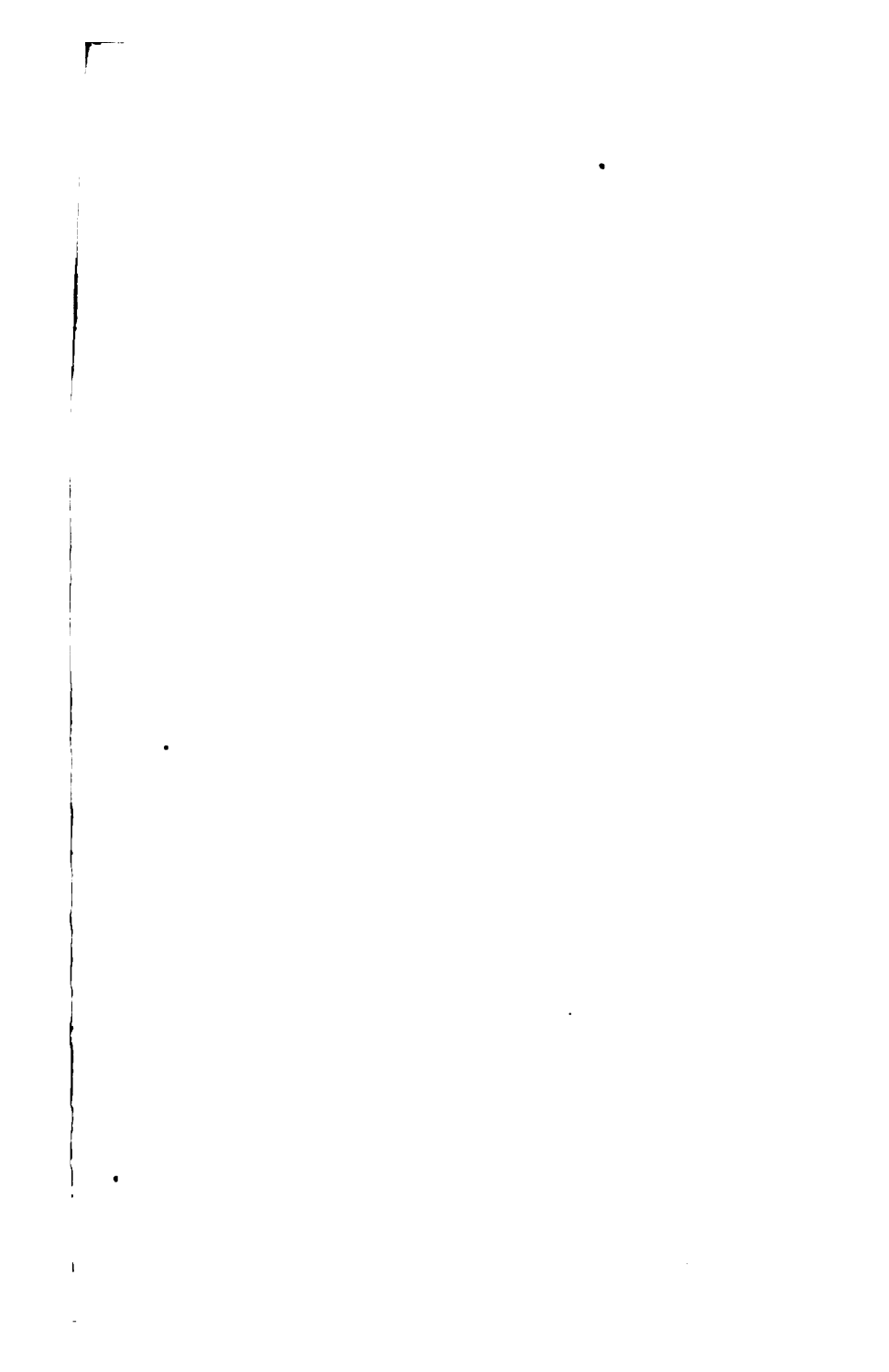
remains at Durham, where the "Chapel of the Nine Altars," as it is called, was the work of Bishop POORE (1228—1241). The want of shrine-room for the display of relics, in which Peterborough was especially rich, was no doubt the cause which led to the erection of this transept, which in almost all its details—groined roof, windows, exterior battlement, and buttresses—so closely resembles King's College Chapel at Cambridge, that, it has been suggested, "the same master-mind would seem to have conceived both."^{*} The beautiful fan-tracery of the roof should especially be noticed. The arms on the bosses are those of England, Edward the Confessor, and Peterborough. The windows were originally filled with very fine stained glass. This has all disappeared; and the central east window alone is now filled with wretched harlequin quarrels, than which the simplest white glass would be infinitely preferable.

The manner in which the Norman choir-apse is squared, so as to adapt it to the New Building, should be remarked. The Norman shafts and Norman wall of the apse remain; and at the side of the entrance-arches these shafts are fitted with Perpendicular capitals. Portions of the Norman stringcourse, much weather-worn, (for it must be remembered that before the erec-

^{*} King's College Chapel was in building at the same time as this transept, and, as at Peterborough, the work was stopped for some time after its commencement. The foundations were laid in 1446: (at Peterborough, in 1438). After a long interval the building was recommenced in 1479, and completed about 1532: (Peterborough recommenced in 1496, and was completed in 1528).

tion of the New Building the apse was uninclosed,) may also be observed—as well as the Decorated tracery still remaining in the closed windows, north and south. “The body of the aperture in the three easternmost is left open, and continued down to the ground in the form of lofty archways, though the lower parts are now blocked by the modern altar-screen, as they were formerly by steps leading from the back of the high altar. The marks of these steps may yet be seen in the south-eastern archway, within the chapel, as well as the hinges of folding-doors, by which the retro-choir, or space behind the high altar, was enclosed †.”

† Paley. “We have now gradually built up what may well be called a noble minster, and a glance at the plan thus completed will shew a Latin cross, the feet resting on two steps, and the head terminating originally in an apse, to which, however, a transept yet farther east has been added. Here, then, we have a cross of that form which is commonly found in old representations of the Rood, where the figure of the Crucified is attended by the Blessed Virgin and the Beloved Disciple, kneeling one on either side, on a step at the foot of the cross, while the inscription over the head appears on a scroll crossing the upper part of the tree. We have, then, in the ground-plan of Peterborough the highest and most completely developed symbolism of the doctrine of the Cross, of which a Christian Church is capable. . . . I would rather suggest than assert, that the upper step of the two, which is found in all churches with a western transept only, as Wells, for instance, and Peterborough before the addition of the façade, is fairly to be assigned to the two sainted witnesses of our Lord's death; and that the yet lower step is to be assigned to the approach of the disciples generally. . . . And in the lowest place even, of this





EARLY MONUMENT IN THE SOUTH AISLE.
(Said to be that of Abbot Hedda and his Monks)

XIX. Under one of these arches at the back of the apse is a small monument of considerable interest. [Plate VII.] This was long supposed to be the stone erected by Godric, Abbot of Crowland, over the monks of Medeshamstede, (the ancient name of Peterborough,) who, with their abbot, Hedda, were slaughtered by the Danes in 870. They had already destroyed Crowland, and were assaulting Medeshamstede, when the brother of the Danish Jarl, Hubba, was killed by a stone thrown from the walls. In revenge, after an entrance had been forced, the Jarl, with his own hand, slew the Abbot and all the surviving monks. The abbey was plundered and burnt. After the Danes had left the country, a few of the Crowland monks returned to their ruined monastery, and chose Godric for their abbot. Having arranged his own community as far as possible, he visited Medeshamstede, where he collected the mangled bodies of the monks,—eighty-four in number, says the pseudo-Ingulphus—and interred them in one large grave, over which he raised “a pyramidal stone, three feet high, three feet long, and one foot broad, on which were cut the images of the deceased abbot and his monks.” Every remaining year of his life, it is said, Godric paid a visit to this stone, and pitched a tent over it, in which he said masses

lower step, is well placed the galilee, the porch of penitents, and the court where their penance was to be awarded.”—*Rev. G. A. Poole, On the Abbey Church of Peterborough*, (in the Transactions of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton).

during two days, for the repose of those buried beneath.

This story, it should be remarked, rests solely on the spurious narrative of Ingulphus, the Chronicler of Crowland; and although the tomb agrees very closely with the measurements given above, it was demonstrated by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Peterborough in 1861, that it is work of the early part of the twelfth century. It is a mass either of Purbeck, or of a somewhat similar marble, full of minute shells. Large holes have been bored in it, three on one side, and two on the other, probably for the purpose of fixing candlesticks. On either of the upright sides are six much-worn figures, the details of which it is very difficult to distinguish. All have the nimbus—a plain circular beading round the heads of all, except one of the figures on the east side, which has the cruciform nimbus distinctive of our Lord, indicated by double lines proceeding from the head to the exterior beading. The hair of a figure on the west side is arrayed in rays, or semicircles. The dress of all is alike,—a long robe with a shorter sleeved vestment over it. The emblems they carry seem to vary: most have books; some bear palm-branches. All are under a circular arcade, with a kind of double leaf-ornament springing from the intersections. The sloping top of the stone is divided into four partitions, with rude sculpture of leafage and birds, one of which may perhaps represent a peacock, a favourite emblem of the Resurrection. Circles and knots

of intersected lines mark the early character of the whole work. The two ends are plain, except that on the south side the date 870 has been carved in modern Arabic numerals.

This monument at all events deserves the most careful attention. The figures are in all probability those of the Saviour and His Apostles, who are usually represented as carrying books; although the dress is that of the twelfth century. It is not impossible, however, that the monument (which may in reality be that of an early abbot) is the actual stone described by Ingulphus, whose narrative has been proved to be a composition of much later date.

XX. On the adjoining wall is the monument of THOMAS DEACON (died 1721), founder of a charity-school at Peterborough, and in many other ways a benefactor to the city. He reclines on the summit of his sarcophagus, attired in a Ramillies wig, and resting one hand on a skull, whilst with the other he points to the record of his virtues behind him. The shattered monument west of this one was erected during his own lifetime by Sir Humphrey Orm, for himself and his family. Before Sir Humphrey's death his monument was reduced by Cromwell's troopers to its present condition. The effigy of an abbot, of Early English date, is placed in the recess behind the altar; and on the adjoining wall are the monuments of Bishop CUMBERLAND (died 1718) and of Bishop WHITE KENNETT (died 1728. For both, see Part II.) Bishop Cumberland's volume, *De legibus Naturæ disquisitio philosophica*—a

refutation of Hobbes—is thus referred to in the inscription on this monument:—

“Macte, malæ fraudis domitor, defensor honesti
Legum Naturæ, justitiæque pugil.
O quantum debent, quas læserat Hobbius, ambas
Recta simul Ratio, Religioque, tibi!”

The lines are from a poetical address to the Bishop by Duport, Dean of Peterborough, whose own monument remains in the north choir-aisle.

Against the lower wall of the apse is a monument formed of fragments of various dates, which seem to have been arranged at a very late period as a memorial of some unknown person. The Perpendicular portions belonged to a shrine which contained relics of St. Ebba, —the most important part of which now serves as a window in the gatehouse (§ III.) St. Ebba was the instructress of St. Etheldreda of Ely, and the sister of Oswald of Northumbria, whose arm was one of the greatest treasures of Peterborough: (see Part II.)

XXI. The *north choir-aisle* precisely resembles the south; the first bay being Early English, as in that. One of the original Norman window-openings has been preserved in this aisle,—filled, however, with Perpendicular tracery and with modern stained glass. It overlooks a slab of blue stone, close to the north choir-door, beneath which still rest the remains of Queen CATHERINE OF ARRAGON. We cannot do better than to appropriate the words of Mr. Paley, in contemplating “the humble grave of one to whose existence, though it may be but incidentally, this nation owes the

greatest change that ever was brought about in it, and upon the accident of whose burial here depended the preservation of this fine abbey and its conversion into a cathedral church. There is no monument in England that can fairly be called more deeply interesting than this one, though few, indeed, of those who daily trample on it, and are fast obliterating the simple words, 'Queen Catherine, A.D. 1536,' appear to entertain a thought about it. Not one in five hundred, we dare aver, recalls her dying words in Shakespeare's 'King Henry VIII. :—

'When I am dead

Let me be used with honour : strew me o'er
With maiden flowers, that all the world may know
I was a chaste wife to my grave : embalm me,
Then lay me forth : although unqueened, yet still
A Queen, and daughter to a King, inter me.' "

Many banners, with heraldic devices and royal achievements, hung above this tomb; and a lofty herse, covered with a black velvet pall marked with a cross of silver tissue, and enriched on the sides with the arms and badges of Arragon, remained on it until the destruction wrought by Cromwell's soldiers. Queen Catherine, the closing scene of whose life it is scarcely possible to imagine otherwise than as Shakespeare has painted it, died at Kimbolton Castle, in Huntingdonshire, Jan. 8, 1535, and was interred in this aisle with much of the state befitting "a queen, and daughter to a king."

XXII. Passing out of the cathedral we enter the

churchyard on its north side; the gateway into which has, close adjoining it, a battlemented arch of entrance to the Deanery—built by Abbot KIRRON, who completed the New Building. The same arms and emblems appear on it as on the bosses and ornaments of his work in the cathedral. His rebus—a kirk on a tun—is placed over the smaller door. The quiet beauty of the churchyard, well kept and judiciously planted, will at once attract the visitor. An excellent view of the exterior of the cathedral is obtained from it; the best general point being towards the north-east angle, [*Frontispiece*], where the rich Perpendicular chapel, the Norman apse towering above it, and the many lines of towers and spires group most picturesquely, and are well contrasted by the surrounding foliage.

The group formed by the north-west transept, with its tower and gable, and the north spire of the west front, should be noticed soon after entering the churchyard. The transept-gables are Early English, of the same date and character as the west front, and of great beauty. The first stage of the north transept-tower above the roof is transition Norman, of the same date as the transept; the upper stage and pinnacles are Early English, but of considerably later date than the west front.

The windows of the nave-aisles (late Early English, § x.), triforium (Decorated § xvi.), and clerestory (Perpendicular, § xvi.), may here be well observed. Flat, pilaster-like buttresses run up between each bay—Norman as high as the stringcourse above the aisle win-

dows, and Decorated above. The upper part may have been added when the aisle walls were raised. The Norman arcade above the aisle windows marks the height of the old wall ; from which the roof sloped steeply backward. The parapet above the clerestory is a late Decorated addition.

The north front of the main transept deserves notice, since it contains the original Norman window-openings filled with Perpendicular tracery. On the eastern side, the door leading into the Lady-chapel (now destroyed) remains ; and some arches which lined what formed its south wall may be traced under the single Norman window remaining in the north choir-aisle. (§ xiv.)

XXIII. The exterior of the eastern apse is much enriched, and very striking. Buttress-turrets, capped with spires, rise at its junction with the choir. An intersecting arcade passes round below the upper tier of windows ; and in the parapet above, which is an addition of the early Decorated period, are circular medallions, enclosing trefoils, from which half emerge figures of kings and ecclesiastics. The manner in which the Norman windows were enlarged and altered (§ xvi.) is well seen here.

The *New Building* has very massive, plain buttresses between each bay, on each of which is placed the sitting figure of an apostle. A rich and graceful parapet fills the space between. This has suffered much from time and decay ; but the initials (R. A.—Richard Ashton, and R. K.—Robert Kirton) and devices (an ash-tree on a tun, and a kirk on a tun) of the builders

may still be traced on it and on the buttresses. On the parapet are also the alternate monograms I.H.C. and M. (Jesus and Mary); and the stringcourse over the east window has the name Karton, (Kirton). On that of a window on the south side it is spelt backwards—Notrak.

The *central tower*, as has already been said, dates about 1340. It has two windows on each side, with a blind arcade of rich tracery between and beyond them. At the angles are octagonal turrets. The tower was originally surmounted by a wooden octagon, "which perhaps bore, or was intended to bear, a timber spire, covered with lead". The octagon was removed by Dr. Kipling (who became Dean of Peterborough in 1798). The turrets, which rise above the tower, were added at this time, and were evidently imitated from those (Norman with a Perpendicular battlement) at the ends of the great transept.

XXIV. Following the main walk of the churchyard, beyond the cathedral, eastward, the visitor will find himself in front of the arches of the *Infirmery* built by Abbot JOHN DE CALETO (1248—1261). They are now built into the walls of the prebendal houses, and are among the chief surviving relics of the monastic buildings: their details deserve attention. A short distance east are some remains of the chapel of the *Infirmery*, dedicated to St. Lawrence; in the walls of one of the bishop's gardens are portions of the refectory; the kitchen of the infirmery is now the Arch-

* Paley.

deacon's house; and the present deanery was the residence of the Prior.

A passage leads, west, to the Laurel Court, the site of the *cloister* destroyed, as has already been mentioned, by Cromwell's troopers in 1643. The original Norman cloister was apparently extended and altered in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; some of its arches, however, remain in the western wall; the "cheese moulding" on one of which indicates its early date. At the south-west angle is a fine Norman doorway, the tympanum of which is enriched with foliage and twisted dragons. In the south wall of the cloister is a much enriched Early English doorway, once opening to the Abbot's Lodge,—the present palace. Immediately opposite is the Abbot's door, opening to the nave of the cathedral.

A third cloister, of Perpendicular date, was built on the site of two earlier ones, and was that destroyed by Cromwell's troopers. Some portions of its lavatories remain. The stained glass in its windows is said to have ranked among the finest in England.

XXV. Returning to the Close, before the west front, the *Abbot's gateway*, on the south side, leading to what was once the abbot's residence, and is now the episcopal palace, should be especially noticed. It is of early Decorated character, with a groined roof springing from clustered shafts; an arcade lines its interior walls; at the angles are square turrets, in each of which is a niche containing a figure; a third figure is placed in the gable. The arrangement on either side

of this gateway is the same. The statues on the north side are those of King Edward II., Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, and the prior of the abbey, wearing the Benedictine habit. On the south side are St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, the three saints to whom the church was originally dedicated. Above the gateway is a room called the Knights' Chamber, in which guests of distinguished rank were lodged; the windows of this room are later than the gateway itself.

North of the main gateway, leading into the Close, is the chancel of a chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, originally founded by Abbots de Waterville and Benedict,—the latter of whom had been a monk of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder, of which he wrote a narrative^{*}. The chancel, which now serves as the Grammar-school, is very late Decorated, or rather early Perpendicular. The beautiful tracery of the east window deserves notice, as does the pierced cross on the gable above it.

On the north side of the cathedral is a singular earthen mound, known as the "Toot-hill," (A.-S., *totten*, 'to project,') said to have been the site of a tower built by Tuold, the first Norman abbot, for the

^{*} After Benedict had been appointed Abbot of Peterborough, in 1176, "finding the great establishment almost entirely destitute of relics, he returned to his own cathedral, and carried off with him the flag-stones immediately surrounding the sacred spot (of Becket's murder)—with which he formed two altars in the conventual church of his new appointment—besides two vases of blood, and parts of Becket's clothing."—*Stanley's Historical Memorials of Canterbury; from Robert of Swaffham.*

defence of his monastery. Similar mounds are found attached to Norman fortresses (as at Canterbury and Oxford). It has, however, also been conjectured that the mound was formed by the earth thrown up in digging the moat round the precincts.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE great Benedictine monastery of Peterborough, which became one of the wealthiest and most important in England, was founded, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 655, by King Oswi of Northumbria, and Peada, son of Penda, King of Mercia. Penda, one of the last and fiercest of the Saxon pagan chieftains, was defeated and killed in November of the same year in a great battle with Oswi, on the river Aire in Yorkshire. Oswi succeeded to the power of the Mercian king, but gave the province of the Southern Mercians to Peada, son of Penda, who about three years before had embraced Christianity, and had married Alhflède, daughter of Oswi. Peada was murdered during the Easter festival of the following year, (656); but between that time and the previous November, Diuma, one of four Christian priests carried back into Mercia by Peada after his own conversion, had been consecrated Bishop of the Middle Anglians and Mercians by Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne; and the two princes, Oswi and Peada, had, in the words of the chronicler, "come together, and said they would rear a minster to the glory of Christ, and the honour of St. Peter." This was Peterborough, the first monastic establishment, and (with the exception perhaps of Lichfield, the seat of the Mercian bishopric) the first resting-place of Christianity in central England.

The site chosen for the new monastery was at a place called Medeshamstede, the 'meadow homestead,' in North Gyrwa-land (*gyr*, A.-S. 'a fen'), one of the many districts tributary to the main kingdom of Mercia, and which must have been specially dependent on the province of the Southern Mercians assigned by Oswi to Peada. The foundations were laid on a rising ground above the river Nen, overlooking a wide extent of fen-country on one side, and a rich district of woods and meadows on the other. The work was commenced in the presence of Peada and Oswi, who, in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "began the ground wall and wrought thereon." It was then entrusted to a monk named Saxulf. Three years afterwards, the Mercians threw off the rule of Oswi, reasserted their independence, and set up Wulfere, brother of Peada, and a younger son of Penda, as their king. Wulfere was a Christian, and greatly favoured the rising monastery at Medeshamstede; which on its completion was "hallowed in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew" by Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ithamar, Bishop of Rochester, and many other bishops, in the presence of Wulfere and his brother Ethelred. Saxulf became the first abbot, and continued to preside over the monastery he had built ("Abbas et constructor" he is called by Bede) until in 674 he was consecrated to the see of Mercia by Archbishop Theodore. At the request of Wulfere and of his successor Ethelred, great privileges were conferred on the abbey by the Popes Vitalian and Agatho. Its abbot took precedence of all others north of the Thames; and "if any Briton had a desire to visit Rome, and could not by reason of its distance," he might repair to St. Peter's in this monastery, there offer up his vows, and receive absolution and the apostolical benediction.

Medeshamstede was flourishing, and if the story told in the chronicle of the Pseudo-Ingulph is to be believed, contained a brotherhood of eighty monks, when it was attacked

and destroyed by the Danes under Hubba, in the year 870, as has already been related. (Pt. I. § XIX.) It remained in ruins until about 966, when Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, as distinguished a 'constructor' or architect under King Edgar, as his successor, William of Wykeham, was under Edward III., caused it to be rebuilt, together with many other religious houses which had been destroyed by the Northmen. It was henceforth—probably from being surrounded with a wall of defence—called *Burgh*, "a similitudine urbis," says William of Malmesbury. The name of 'Gildenburgh' was sometimes given to it, from a part of the minster-roofs having been gilt by Abbot Leofric; but it finally took and kept that by which it is at present known, Peterburgh, from the dedication of its great church to St. Peter.

Numerous relics, including the incorruptible arm of St. Oswald of Northumbria, some earth from the battlefield on which he fell, and the body of St. Florentin, brought from Normandy, were acquired for his convent by Abbot Elsi, who died in 1055. Leofric, a relative of the Confessor,—by whose favour he held five monasteries at once—Burton, Coventry, Crowland, Thorney, and Peterborough,—joined the army of Harold at the time of the Norman invasion, but was not present in the great battle. He returned to Peterborough, where he died in 1066. His successor, Brand, was the abbot who knighted the Saxon hero Hereward. Peterborough, like Ely and the other monasteries of the fen country, had been a stronghold of Saxon feeling, and had at first supported the claims of Edgar Atheling. Accordingly, on the death of Brand in 1069, a Norman named Thorold was appointed abbot by the King. Hereward, however, who had joined the Danes under Sweyn in the Isle of Ely, attacked Peterborough and plundered its church, some of the relics in which were carried off to Denmark. On another occasion, the Abbot was made prisoner by Hereward, and compelled to pay thirty marks for his ransom. On his death in 1100, the

monks, who had paid three hundred marks to the King for the privilege, elected Godric, a brother of Brand, to the abbacy. He was soon deposed, however. The abbey remained in the King's hands for four years; and from this time Churchmen of Norman birth alone were permitted to hold the high dignity of Abbot of Peterborough. Those of especial note were Ernulf, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, who became Bishop of Rochester; John of Seez, who commenced the choir of the existing cathedral, after a fire in 1116, which consumed the greater part of the monastery; Martin of Bec, who completed the choir and transept-aisles, and who governed the monastery with great prudence during the troubled times of Stephen; William de Waterville, and Benedict, who completed the nave, (the latter was Cœur-de-Lion's Keeper of the Great Seal); Robert de Sutton, who first joined the side of the Barons, and then that of Henry III., and was compelled to pay heavy fines in consequence; Richard Ashton, and Robert Kirton, who built the eastern transept, or New Building; and John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop. The monastery had steadily increased in wealth and importance; and at the time of the dissolution it was one of the richest, though scarcely the best-conducted in England. Many of the English monarchs had visited it on their way to or from the north. Edward III., his queen, and court kept the Easter festival at Peterborough in 1327, on which occasion the abbot, Adam de Botheby, expended nearly £500. Cardinal Wolsey kept the same feast at Peterborough in great state in 1528; but although the abbey expended enormous sums in entertaining its royal and noble visitors, the local rhyme characterizing the great monasteries of the fens indicates that it was scarcely so liberal to those of lower degree:—

“ Ramsay the bounteous of gold and of fee,
 Crowland as courteous as courteous may be,
 Spalding the rich and Peterborough the proud,

Sawtre by the way
That poor abbaye
Gave more alms in one day
Than all they."

John Chambers, the last abbot, who, in the words of Gunton, the historian of Peterborough, "loved to sleep in a whole skin, and desired to die in his nest," resigned the abbey to Henry VIII. on the first of March, 1540. He was then granted an annual pension of £260; but in the following year, letters patent were issued for converting the monastic church into the cathedral of a new diocese, which was to extend over the counties of Northampton and Rutland, hitherto comprised in the great diocese of Lincoln. The church is said to have been spared as a monument to Catherine of Arragon. Henry VIII., it is asserted, replied to a suggestion, "How well it would become his greatness to erect a fair monument for her," "Yes; I will leave her one of the goodliest in the kingdom,"—meaning this church.

[A.D. 1541—1556.] JOHN CHAMBERS retained the abbot's residence as his palace; and the new diocese was endowed with a third part of the property of the abbey, amounting to the yearly value of £733, (equal to about £14,660 of our money); the other two parts being assigned to the King, and to the newly-established chapter, consisting of a dean and six canons. Bishop Chambers erected for himself in the cathedral a monument with an effigy, which was destroyed in 1643.

[A.D. 1557, deposed 1559.] DAVID POOLE was deprived for denying the supremacy of Queen Mary; "being esteemed a grave person and very quiet subject," says Antony Wood. He was committed to custody, but soon liberated, and died on one of the farms belonging to the see. He was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1560, translated to Norwich 1584.] EDMUND SCAMBLER had been chaplain to Archbishop Parker. During his long

episcopate at Peterborough, he alienated much of the land belonging to the see; "As if," says Gunton, "King Henry had not taken away enough, and the Bishop himself would take away more." The greater part of the alienated estates passed into the hands of Cecil, who surrounded his mansion-house at Burleigh with the spoils of the see of Peterborough. At the commencement of the Reformation, and during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the alienation of Church property had gone so far, "that in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, statutes were made disabling ecclesiastical proprietors from granting away their lands except on leases for three lives, or twenty-one years. But an unfortunate reservation was made in favour of the crown. The Queen, therefore, and her courtiers, who obtained grants from her, continued to prey upon their succulent victim^a." Cecil, however, was not more "mercenary and rapacious" than the rest of Elizabeth's courtiers, with the exception of Walsingham, "who spent his own estate in her service, and left not sufficient to pay his debts." (See ELY, Part II., Bishop Cox.) The Bishop of Peterborough was not less active in the work of alienation after his translation to Norwich; and Lord Keeper Puckering petitioned the Queen to confer the see of Ely on Scambler, when eighty-eight years old, in order that he might give him a lease of part of the lands. This second translation never took place; and by an act in the first year of James I., conveyances of bishops' lands to the crown are made void: "a concession," says Hallam, "much to the King's honour."

[A.D. 1585—1600.] RICHARD HOWLAND, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. During his episcopate, Mary Queen of Scots was buried at Peterborough. The sermon on this occasion, however, (from Ps. xxxix. 5, 6, 7,) which "made a great noise among factious people," was preached by William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln.

^a Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. iv.

[A.D. 1601—1630.] THOMAS DOVE, a chaplain of Queen Elizabeth's, who was wont to call him "the Dove with silver wings," from his excellent preaching and reverend aspect. He kept great hospitality during his long episcopate.

[A.D. 1630, translated to Bath and Wells 1632.] WILLIAM PIERS.

[A.D. 1633, translated to Hereford 1634.] AUGUSTINE LINDSELL, Dean of Lichfield. Bishop Lindsell, whose learning was considerable, was the editor of "Theophylact on St. Paul's Epistles," fol. 1636.

[A.D. 1634—1638.] FRANCIS DEE, Dean of Chichester.

[A.D. 1639—1649.] JOHN TOWERS, who had been Dean of Peterborough. The "great commission for draining the fens" was opened at Peterborough soon after this bishop's accession. The commissioners sat for some days in the great hall of the palace; and their decisions were henceforth known as "Peterborough law." The troubles of the civil war fell heavily on Bishop Towers, whose cathedral suffered more than any other in England from the fanatic soldiery. (Part I. § xv.) He was himself for some time in attendance on the King, and died in obscurity, Jan. 10, 1648, "twenty days before his great master King Charles."

[A.D. 1660, translated to Lincoln 1663.] BENJAMIN LANEY had been Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Dean of Rochester. He had attended Charles II. during his exile. Dr. Cosin, consecrated to the see of Durham at the same time as Bishop Laney to that of Peterborough, had been Dean of Peterborough before the troubles, and returned to his former charge on the Restoration. The cathedral of Peterborough, which remained in a ruinous condition for many years after the desecration, had been partly restored, and was used by the inhabitants as a parish church. Dean Cosin "renewed the ancient usage," and "settled the church and choir in a proper order."

[A.D. 1663—1679.] JOSEPH HENSHAW, Dean of Chichester,

author of *Horæ Succesivæ*, a book of some reputation in its day. He was buried near his wife in the church of East Lavant, Sussex.

[A.D. 1679, translated to Norwich 1685.] WILLIAM LLOYD, translated to Peterborough from Llandaff. Bishop Lloyd, who died in 1710, was the longest lived of the Nonjuring bishops. He was deprived 1690. (See NORWICH.)

[A.D. 1685, deprived 1690.] THOMAS WHITE, also a Non-juror. He was one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower.

[A.D. 1691—1718.] RICHARD CUMBERLAND. "He had no pretension to quick and brilliant talents," writes his great grandson, Richard Cumberland, author of "The Observer." "His mind was fitted for elaborate and profound researches, as his works more fully testify." Bishop Cumberland was the author of a refutation of the 'free principles' of Hobbes, entitled *De Legibus Naturæ Disputatio Philosophica*, a book which, between the years 1672 (when it first appeared) and 1750, was several times reprinted, in Latin and English, both at home and on the Continent. Besides some lesser works, Bishop Cumberland also wrote *Origines Gentium Antiquissima*, or, "Attempts for Discovering the Times of the First Planting of Nations." London, 1724. His monument remains in the New Building, with an inscription already noticed. (Part I. § XX.)

[A.D. 1718—1728.] WHITE KENNETT had been eleven years Dean of Peterborough, and is perhaps the most distinguished prelate who has ever filled the see. Bishop Kennett was born at Dover in 1660, was educated at Westminster and Oxford, and became successively Vicar of Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire, Rector of Shottesbroke, Berkshire, and Dean and Bishop of Peterborough. Bishop Kennett is best remembered, however, for his literary labours. Besides many smaller works in which he replied to the arguments of Atterbury respecting the history and rights of the Convocation, Bishop Kennett wrote "Parochial Anti-

quities : a History of Ambrosden, Bicester, and the Neighbourhood," 4to., 1695 : this book was republished by Dr. Bandinel, (Oxford, 1818,) and is still of considerable interest and value ;—and " A Complete History of England," 3 vols. folio, 1706. The third volume alone is Kennett's, and contains the history from Charles I. to William III. Bishop Kennett's monument remains in the New Building. (Part I. § xx.)

The chapter library at Peterborough was greatly enriched by the care of Bishop Kennett, and of his registrar, the Rev. Joseph Sparke, editor of a collection of chronicles which has now become rare, entitled *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii*. London, folio, 1723. The volume contains many of the chronicles connected with the abbey of Peterborough.

[A.D. 1729—1747.] ROBERT CLAVERING was translated to Peterborough from Llandaff.

[A.D. 1747, translated to Salisbury 1757.] JOHN THOMAS, tutor to George III.

[A.D. 1757, translated to London 1764.] RICHARD TERRICK.

[A.D. 1764—1769.] ROBERT LAMB.

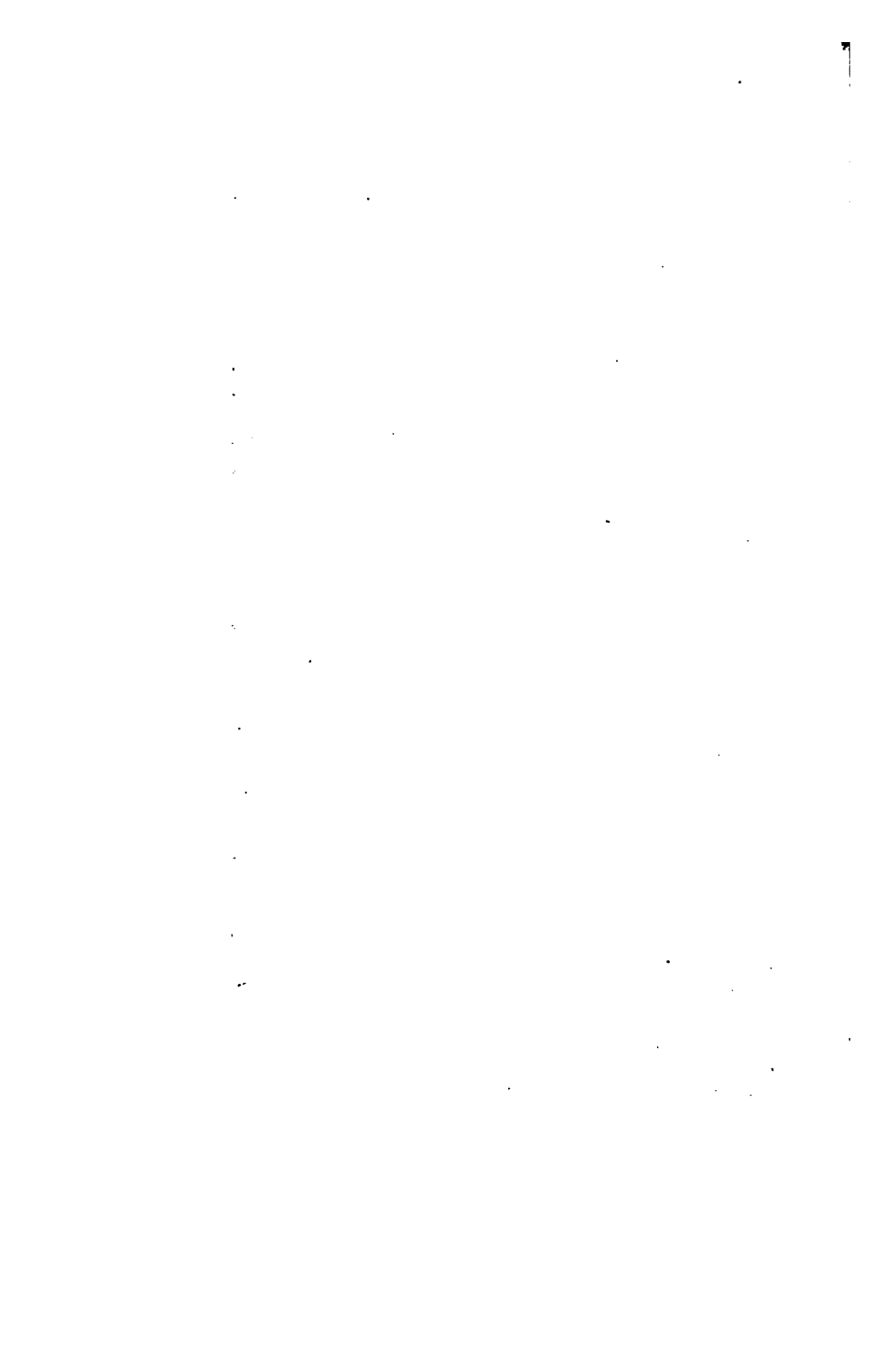
[A.D. 1769—1794.] JOHN HINCHCLIFFE, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge ; which position he retained after he became Bishop of Peterborough, until in 1789 he was appointed to the Deanery of Durham, which he held with his bishopric until his death.

[A.D. 1794—1813.] SPENCER MADAN, translated from Bristol.

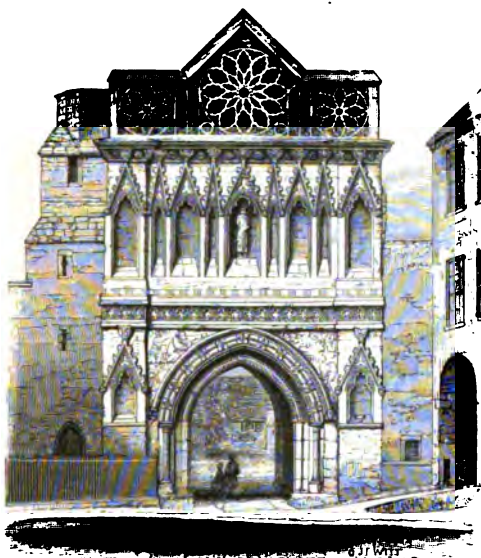
[A.D. 1813—1819.] JOHN PARSONS, Master of Balliol College, Oxford ; retained the Mastership until his death. He died at Oxford, and was buried in the chapel of Balliol College.

[A.D. 1819—1839.] HERBERT MARSH, translated from Llandaff ; had been Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and author of several learned works.

[A.D. 1839.] GEORGE DAVYS.

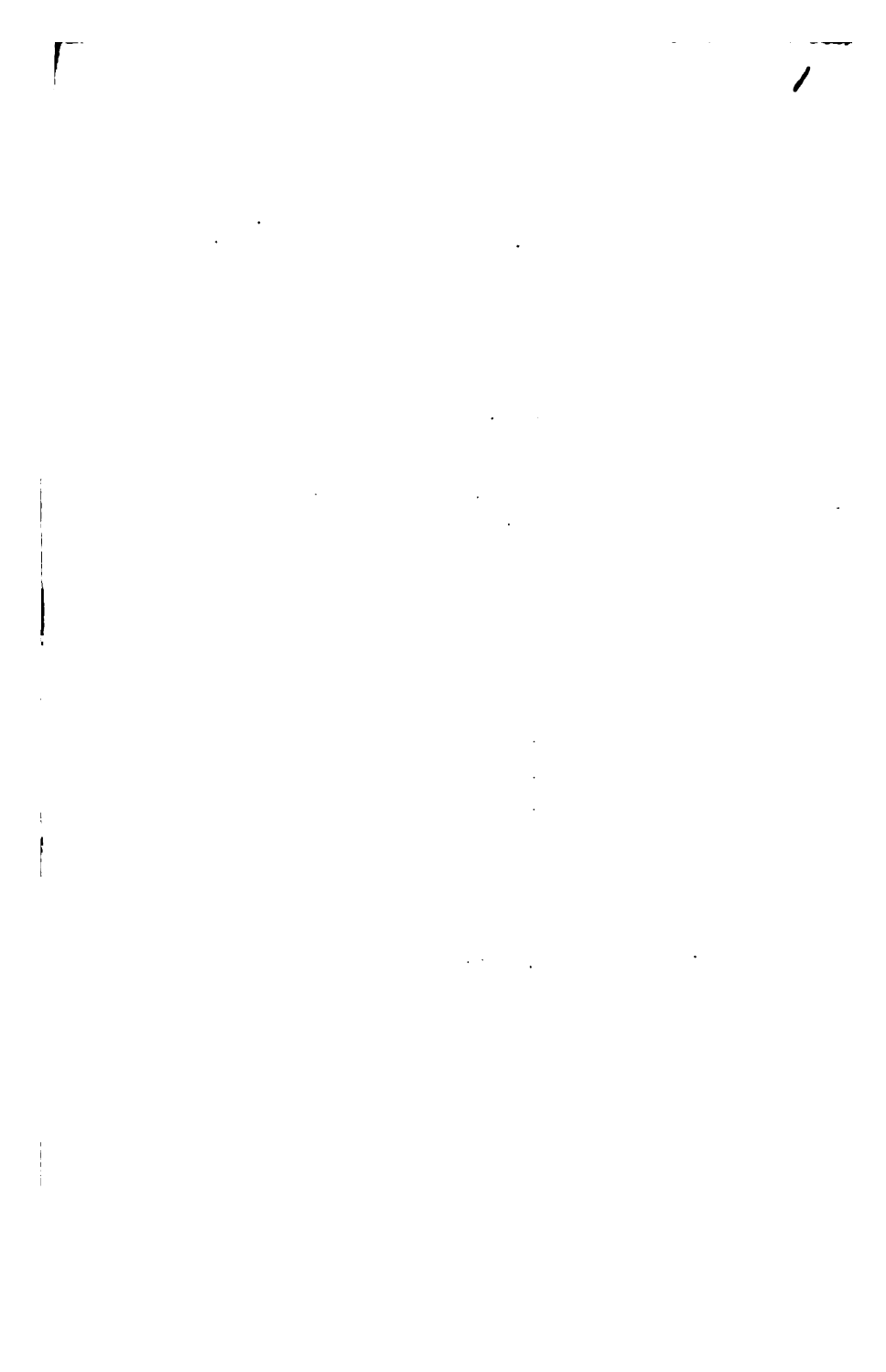


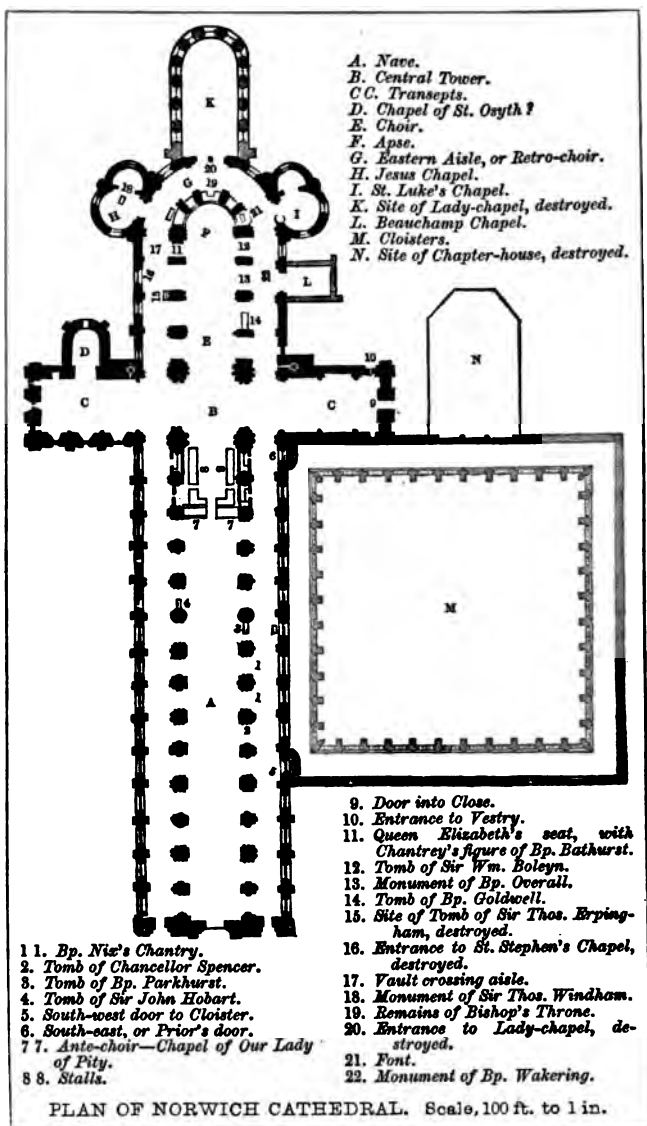
NORWICH CATHEDRAL.



ST. ETHELBERT'S GATE.







NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

11 91

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE changes of the East Anglian see, and its history before its removal to Norwich in 1094, will be found noticed at length in Part II. The first stone of the existing cathedral was laid (possibly on the site of an earlier Saxon church) by Bishop HERBERT (called DE LOSINGA, 1091—1119,) in 1096; and the building itself, together with the adjoining priory, was so far completed in 1101 that sixty Benedictine monks were then placed in the latter. Bishop Herbert's work is said to have comprised the *choir* and its *aisles*, the *tower*, and the *transepts*. Bishop EVERARD (1121, deposed 1145) added the *nave*. In the year 1171 the church was much injured by fire, but was restored and completed by JOHN OF OXFORD, (1175—1200). The Lady-chapel, which was destroyed by Dean Gardiner, in the reign of Elizabeth, was added at the eastern end by Bishop WALTER DE SUFFIELD, (1245—1257). In 1272, the last year of the reign of Henry III., the church again suffered greatly from fire, during a fierce struggle between the monks and the citizens of Norwich. It was restored, and was

of Westminster Hall. Norman turrets rise on either side; and the fronts of the aisles are Norman, with Perpendicular additions in the parapets and windows. The pinnacles which crown the flanking turrets are entirely modern.

IV. The *nave* [Plate I.], which we now enter, is throughout Norman, with the exception of its vaulted roof, and of the chapel constructed by Bishop Nix in the south aisle. Its lower part is assigned, and with probability, to Bishop EVERARD, (1121—1145,) who no doubt followed the original plan of his predecessor, Bishop Herbert.

The nave, which extends 250 feet from the western door, and comprises fourteen bays to the intersection of the transepts, is the longest in England, with the exception of that of St. Alban's, which extends to 300 feet. Three bays of this length, however, are included in the choir. The great open arches of the triforium, which at once attract attention, thus form a more peculiar feature in the general view of the nave than its unusual length. The arrangement occurs in early Norman work on the Continent, but is found in no other English cathedral. There are, however, examples in some important churches, as at Waltham Abbey, and St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

The nave piers are unusually massive, and alternate regularly in design as far as the tenth pier from the west end. On the east and west faces of the first pier are circular half-piers, with cushioned capitals. On the inner faces of the second are three semi-attached shafts,



THE NAVE.



with plain caps. A single shaft is set in the angle of each pier, and a billet-moulding encircles the arch. Vaulting-shafts, alternately double and single, ascend to the spring of the triforium arches, and to the level of the clerestory, alternately. The bases of these shafts were apparently altered at the time of the erection of the roof by Bishop Lehart in the fifteenth century.

The *triforium*, of which the arches are scarcely less in size than those of the nave below them, extends over the whole space of the aisles, and is lighted at present by Perpendicular windows inserted at the back by Bishop Alnwick, who raised the exterior wall for this purpose. Throughout, the triforium arches have triple shafts on their inner sides, and a zigzag moulding above them. They reach to the level of the *clerestory*, which is set back within a wall-passage, forming a series of triple arches, as at Oxford. The central arch, at the back of which is the window, is raised on slender shafts, resting on the capitals of those below. A billet-moulding surrounds this arch. The clerestory lights are Perpendicular, like those of the triforium. The capitals and bases of piers and shafts are throughout plain, and there is no undercutting, either in the zigzag or billet-mouldings.

The alteration of the western doorway is at once evident from within, the original Norman arch remaining above Bishop Alnwick's Perpendicular insertion. A lofty Norman arcade of two arches remains on either side of the doorway. The two northern arches are some inches higher than those south; and following

the indication thus afforded, it will be seen that all the arches of the nave on the north side are slightly higher than those opposite,—a fact for which it is difficult to account, but from which we may perhaps conclude that one side of the nave was completed before the other.

V. The beautiful lierne-vault of the nave was the work of Bishop WALTER LEHART, (1446—1472,) the original Norman roof, which was of wood, having been much injured when the spire of the cathedral was struck by lightning in 1463. The shafts which carry the roof, and which rest on the capitals of the Norman vaulting-shafts already noticed, are of the same date as the roof itself. Bishop Lehart's device,—a hart lying



in the water (*Water Lie-hart*),—alternates with an angel bearing a shield, on the corbels at the bases of the longer shafts.

The bosses of the roof are carved with minute figures, said to be 328 in number, which form a complete sacred history, beginning at the tower end with the Creation, and ending with the Last Judgment. All were originally painted and gilt, and a proper restoration of colour would render them far more decipherable than they are at present, even with the aid of glasses. In the centre of this roof, between the west door and the choir screen, is a circular open-

ing of some size. Similar openings exist in the roof of Exeter Cathedral, and in other vaults of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods; and it has been conjectured that they served for censuring the church on great festivals, and for other occasional ceremonies*.

The great *west window* is best seen from the upper part of the nave. It is filled with stained glass by HEDGE LAND, as a memorial of Bishop STANLEY, died 1849. The design is of more pictorial character than usual, but the result is very far from pleasing. The subjects are—the adoration of the Magi, the finding of Moses, and the Ascension, after RAFFAELLE; the brazen serpent, after LE BRUN; and Christ blessing little children, after WEST. In the centre of the nave, over the tomb of Bishop Stanley, is a black marble slab, the inscription on which should be read.

VI. The *nave-aisles* are covered by a plain quadri-

* Harrod, Castles and Convents of Norfolk, p. 270. Mr. Harrod quotes the following passage from Lambard's Topographical Dictionary:—"I myself, being a child, once was in Paule's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsontide, wheare the comyng down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the mydst of the roof of the great ile; and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down at such a length that it reached at one swepe almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the queer stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete things as burned therein." A curious account of similar ceremonies in the great church at Dunkirk early in the last century will be found in the fourth volume of Ellis's Letters Illustrative of English History, Fourth Series.

partite vault, springing from shafts set against the piers of the nave, and from half-piers with semi-attached shafts against the opposite wall. Each bay is divided by a plain arch, slightly horse-shoed. Perpendicular windows have been inserted, probably by Bishop Alnwick; and a blank arcade, of five arches in each bay, fills the wall below them. In both aisles some of the original Norman window-splays, with shafts at the angles, remain.

In the *north aisle* a door in the *eighth* bay, now blocked up, opened to the *green-yard* of the priory, in which was a cross, where sermons were occasionally preached. In the *tenth bay* is a memorial window for WILLIAM SMYTH, died 1849, for forty years Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. Opposite, between the nave and aisle, is an altar-tomb, from which the brasses have been removed. It is that of SIR JOHN HOBART, Attorney-General to Henry VII. This monument was enclosed in a chantry, which was destroyed during the Civil War. (See Part II., Bishop HALL.)

In the *south aisle* the seventh and eighth bays were converted into a chantry by Bishop NIX, (1501—1536). The sides of the piers and the vaulting are much enriched with panels and tracery of late Perpendicular character. The Bishop's arms occur in the spandrels; and at the east end of the eighth bay are three canopied niches. The iron-work on which the 'sacring-bell' hung, remains; but the railing which surrounded the chapel, together with a stone pulpit which projected into the nave, were destroyed by the Puritans during

their occupation of the cathedral. In the sixth bay is the tomb of Chancellor SPENCER, on which the rents of the dean and chapter were formerly paid; and in the ninth is the plain altar-tomb of Bishop PARKHURST, (1560—1575,) from which the brasses have been removed. Against the wall is the monument of Dean GARDINER, (1573—1589,) who pulled down the Lady-chapel; and against the pier at the foot of Chancellor Spencer's tomb, a mural monument for a Fairfax, one of the Fellows of Magdalen who resisted James II.

One of the windows in Bishop Nix's chapel has been filled with stained glass as a memorial for members of the family of Hales, of Norwich. In the last bay of this aisle toward the east, and in the fifth bay from the west, are doors opening to the cloisters. (See § XVIII.)

VII. The lower pier of the tenth bay of the nave on either side differs from all the rest, and is circular, with a spiral ribbed ornament, like that of the Norman piers at Durham. These piers probably mark the original extent of the choir, which, as in many other Norman cathedrals, seems to have stretched beyond the central tower, and to have comprised three bays of the nave. Beyond this point eastward, the vaulting-shafts are cut short about half way below the crown of the arches, and terminate there in heads, serving as corbels.

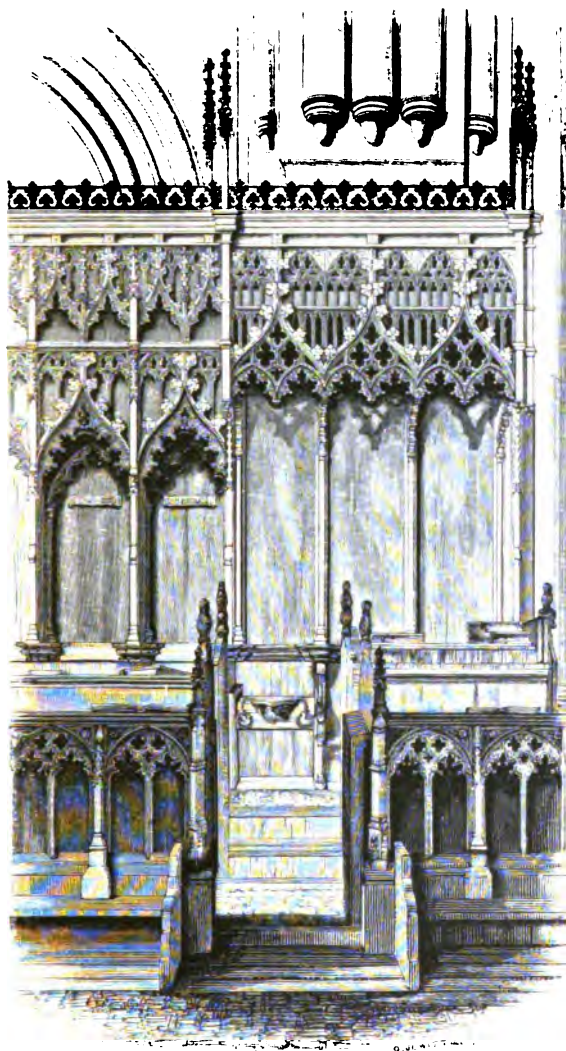
The *organ-screen* at present crosses the nave at the east end of the eleventh bay. The lower part, which is ancient, has been restored, and was no doubt the work of Bishop Lehart, whose device appears in the spandrels. The upper part, which was completed in

1833, is heavy and ugly, and its effect is by no means improved by the decoration of the organ which stands above it. Extending westward, between the piers on either side of the screen door, were small chapels with altars; that north dedicated to St. William, a boy said to have been crucified by the Jews in 1137, (see Part II., Bishop EVERARD, and compare the notice of "Little St. Hugh," Lincoln Cathedral,) that south to St. Mary. Both were destroyed during the Rebellion.

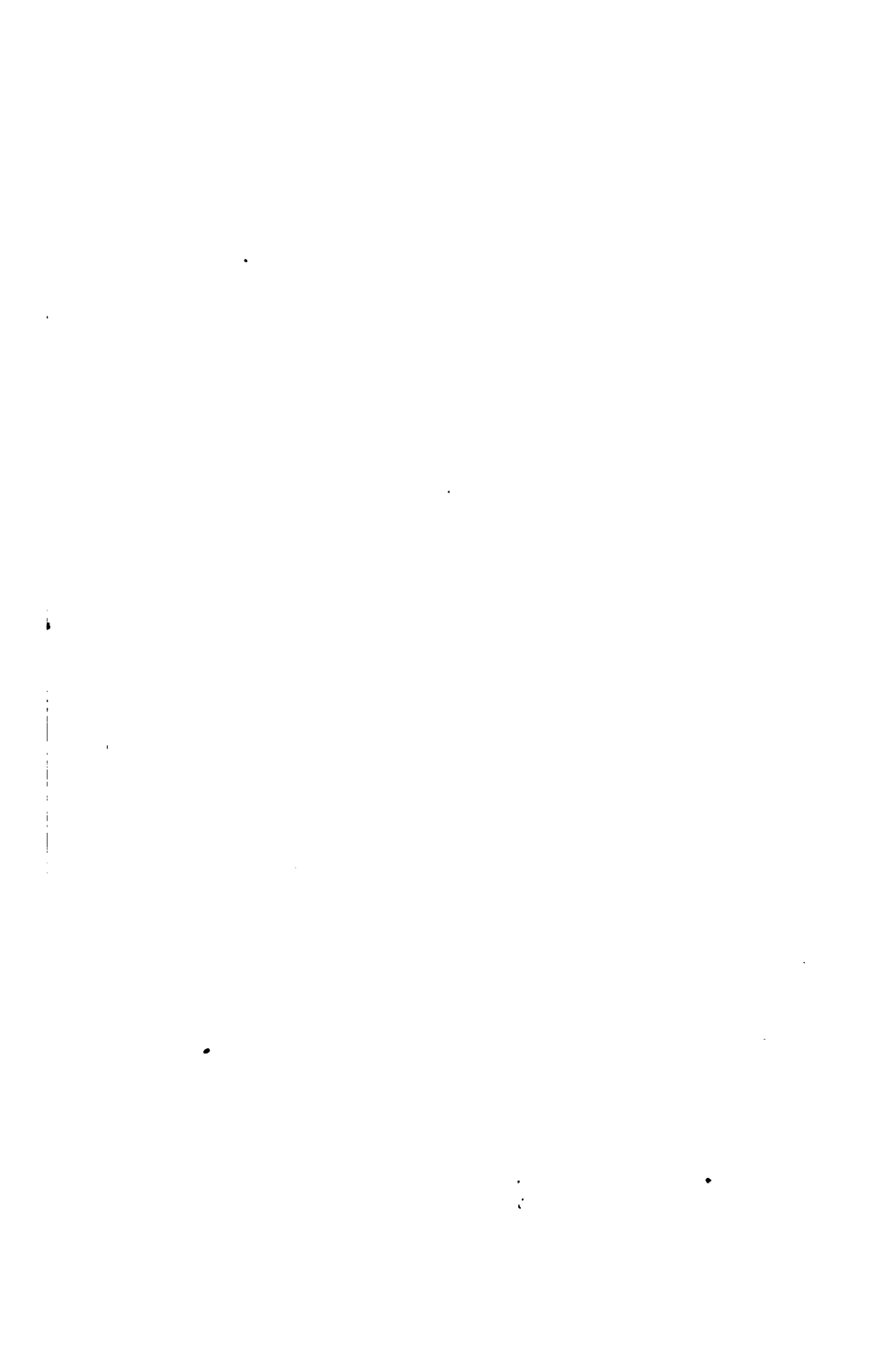
The *ante-choir*, which fills the space under the organ-loft between two piers, was the chapel of our Lady of Pity. Its upper portion is cut off by the floor of the organ-loft. The walls north and south are covered with a Perpendicular panelling, which is said to have formed part of a screen separating Jesus Chapel from the north-east aisle of the choir.

VIII. The *choir* itself extends beyond the screen to the extreme eastern apse, the graceful curve of which, seen beyond the Norman arcades of the central tower, is very picturesque and striking. Bishop Lehart's roof extends to the western piers of the tower. The lower arches of the choir have plain mouldings, instead of the billet seen in the nave. In other respects the two bays west of the tower differ not at all from those of the nave. The *stalls* [Plate II.] are arranged on either side of the choir as far as the transept. They are sixty-two in number, for the prior, sub-prior, and sixty monks. Their carving and details, which are Perpendicular, and probably of the middle of the fifteenth century, are excellent, and deserve the closest examination. Remark

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STALLS IN THE CHOIR.







No. 16.



No. 23.



No. 30.

MISERERES IN THE CHOIR.

especially the birds serving as crockets, and the curious circular heads at the foliation-cusps of the arches. Until very recently these stalls were encrusted with paint, which has been removed, and the broken portions carefully restored.

The *misereres* below [Plate III.] are still more interesting than the stalls, and are of two periods: the earlier, dating probably from the commencement of the fifteenth century, are distinguished by a ledge or seat with sharp angles; the later, which date from the end of the same century, have a ledge rounded at the sides, and sinking inward at the centre. They have been carefully examined and described by Mr. Harrod⁴. All will repay careful notice; but the most interesting are as follow:—

South side of choir, beginning west.

2. A lion and dragon biting each other. The grouping very spirited.

3. A rose-tree.

6. A man seated, reading. *Right*, a shepherd, with his flock about him. *Left*, a group of scholars; two with books, two fighting: the master taking cakes from a basket.

10. A man and woman, in civil costume; the lady with a rosary, the man with a long girdle.

12. A crowned head.

16. Two male figures, preparing to wrestle.

Corporation-pew, south of choir.

23. A large human head, supported by foliage.

28. A schoolmaster scourging a child: his scholars about him.

⁴ Castles and Convents of Norfolk. The descriptions which follow are Mr. Harrod's.

30. A fox running away with a goose, pursued by a woman with a distaff; meanwhile, a pig feeds from a pot, and other pots and pans are thrown about in the *melée*.

North side of choir, beginning west.

4. A knight in armour.

5. A huntsman, with stag and dogs.

7. A knight and lady. The arms on either side are Wingfield (*right*) and Boville (*left*). Sir Thomas Wingfield married the heiress of Boville in the latter part of the reign of Edward III.

13. A man in armour, sitting on a lion, and tearing open its jaws.

16. A man riding on a boar.

17. A large owl, with small birds about it.

18. A man drinking, upset by a boar.

Corporation-pew, north of choir.

23. A man riding on a stag.

28. A castle.

29. A monkey driving another in a wheelbarrow.

IX. The *central tower*, the first story of which is early Norman, and probably part of Bishop Herbert's work, is open to the roof, as a lantern. The upper stories are also Norman, but of later date. The tower is raised on four very lofty circular arches, having semi-attached shafts in front, and in the rebates. Above, on all four sides, are three arcades, all circular-headed, the upper and lower pierced with passages leading to the roof. The lower arcade is of six arches on each side. That in the centre is narrower than either of the others, and merely relieves the



THE CHOIR.

wall, "except in the extremity of each face, where it is pierced by a large circular aperture, which however does not go quite through the wall." The upper arcade of three arches is the loftiest, and is pierced for windows. Two large shafts support each a group of smaller ones, from which the arch springs within which the window is set, all the shafts being "admirably proportioned to the great height at which they are placed." The windows are filled with stained glass, which produces a singularly good effect. Above this arcade the lantern is closed by a flat wooden ceiling of the worst possible design, which it is hoped may speedily be removed.

The transepts (§ XII.) which open south and north from the tower, were formerly separated from the choir, but have been thrown into it during the recent alterations, so as to admit of their use during divine service.

X. The portion of the choir [Plate IV.] which extends eastward of the tower has been greatly altered, although the original Norman ground-plan remains unchanged. The roof and clerestory had probably been injured in 1463, when the spire was struck by lightning. About ten years afterwards the present lofty clerestory and stone vault were erected by Bishop GOLDWELL, (1472—1499).

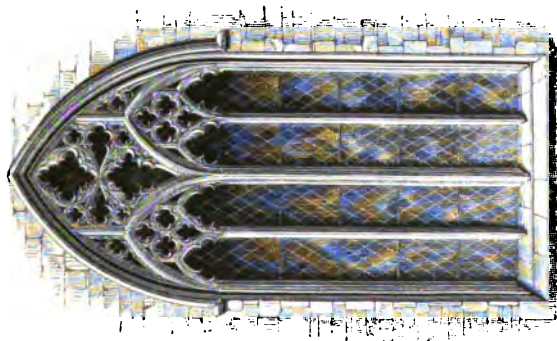
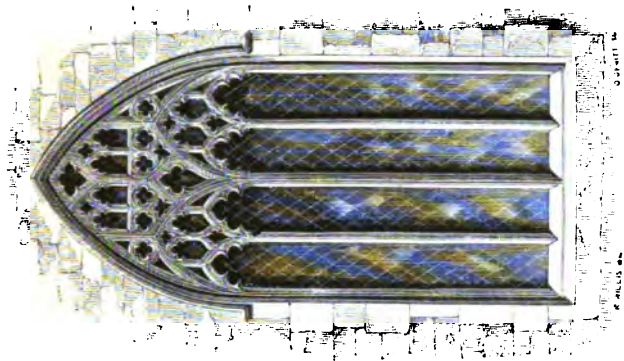
Early in the following century the arches on either side, as far as the apse, were changed from Norman to Perpendicular.

The original arrangement of the choir seems to have differed in no respect from that of the nave. The

Norman arches of the triforium, which are without the zigzag ornament of those in the nave, remain untouched; but the shafts running up in front of the piers have been cut away, except at the junction of the choir with the apse, where the shafts themselves have been Perpendicularized, but their Norman capitals retained.

Bishop Goldwell's clerestory is very light and graceful. Groups of slender shafts, rising in a line with the triforium arches, form an arcade in front of the lofty windows [Plate V.], and assist in carrying the lierne roof, which is, however, not so rich as that of Bishops Lehart or Nix. "The bosses, which are so elaborate and varied there, are here very poor, the bishop's rebus forming the subject of the majority of them."—(*Harrod.*) "In the centre of the roof . . . is a small round hole, from which, I believe, hung the light of the Sacrament, the usual place of which was before the altar, and not above it. From hence, at Easter, might the light have been let down to fire the great sepulchre light. The hole is not a forced one; it was made when the roof was built."—(*Id.*)

The *apse*, which, like the eastern part of the choir, was originally early Norman, and the work of Bishop Herbert, is semicircular as far as the top of the triforium. The clerestory, added by Bishop Goldwell, is pentagonal; and the manner in which the change is effected deserves notice. The lower story of the apse consists of five arches, now entirely closed at the back. They have the zigzag ornament, and the shafts of their



WINDOWS OF PRESBYTERY.

piers are much enriched. They were originally open half-way up, and contained stone benches for the clergy. The bishop's throne stood beneath the central arch: (see the original arrangement in the aisle without, § XVI.) This was the most ancient position for the episcopal chair—at the back of the high altar; a position which it still occupies in many continental churches, as it formerly did at Canterbury. The triforium arches of the apse are slightly below the level of those in the choir. They are five in number; and their groups of shafts, with the space seen at the back of the arches, lighted by windows filled with stained glass, produce a very fine effect. The capitals here are slightly more enriched than in the choir. Two grotesque heads serve as brackets on either side of the first pier. The clerestory of the apse has no arcade, or wall-passage. The glass with which its windows are filled, as well as that in the triforium windows below, is entirely modern, by WARRINGTON, and tolerably good.

The view looking westward from the apse should be noticed. The unusual height of the choir (83 feet) as contrasted with that of the nave (69 feet), and the open arcades of the central tower, are the features which most attract attention.

XI. The four lower arches on either side of the choir, between the apse and the central tower, have been closed from behind, and converted into recesses covered with florid tracery on the vaulting and back. The fronts of the piers between the arches are also covered with tracery and tabernacle-work. Above

the arches are square panels with shields of arms, in all of which the bull's head of Boleyn is conspicuous; and the whole is crowned by a pierced parapet which rises above the base of the triforium. The small turrets in the tabernacle-work perhaps refer to the castle, which forms the arms of Norwich. The shields, which are those of Boleyn and quarterings, constitute a "memorial of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling, who died 1505, and whose monument was in the first arch on the south side; and we may therefore conclude that his screen-work was erected by the Boleyn family after his death *."

"The Norman workmen had built this end of the choir slightly out of the straight line, so that a line drawn through the centre of the nave would strike the east end of the presbytery some inches south of the actual central point of it. The Perpendicular walls have been built so as in some measure to correct this deviation; and the consequence has been, that the central shaft of the two eastern arches on the south side, would, if it had been left in its place, have overhung the parapet; but it has been completely removed, and the wall made flat up to the spring of the arches. All the shafts in the same position on the north side are pared down in a similar way†."

In the recesses on the north side of the choir, are—

1. (beginning from the west) mural tablets for

* Harrod, *Churches and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 289.

† Id., pp. 285, 286.

Bishop HORNE (died 1792) and Dean LLOYD, (died 1790).

2. The monument of Dr. MOORE, (died 1779); whose periwigged head is in grotesque juxtaposition with a cherub making a very ugly face, and drying his eyes with what seems to be his shirt. On a panel in front of the pier is a tablet for the youngest son of Bishop HALL, who died in 1642.

4. The fourth recess on this side is known as "Queen Elizabeth's seat," because it was prepared for that Queen's occupation on her visit to Norwich in 1578. In it now appears CHANTREY's very fine sitting figure of Bishop BATHURST, (died 1837,) much out of place, but well deserving of attention. It was the latest work of the sculptor. The quatrefoil opening at the back of this recess was perhaps in connection with the Easter sepulchre, which seems to have been placed here, (see § XIV.) It will be seen that the Perpendicular bases terminate above this opening—proving that some erection was in the way which prevented them from being carried to the ground.

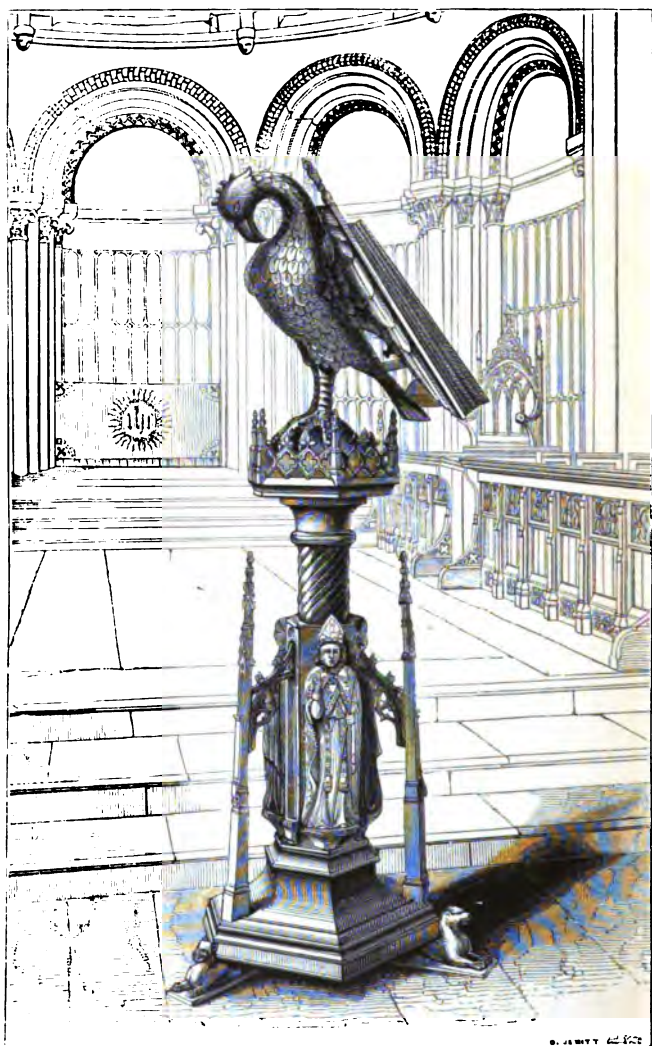
On the south side, beginning from the east, the tomb in the (1) first recess is that of Sir William Boleyn, (died 1505,) father of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and consequently great-grandfather of Queen Elizabeth. Blickling, about thirteen miles from Norwich, was the property of the Boleyns before its purchase by the Hobarts; and is generally thought to have been the birth-place of Anne Boleyn, who is known to have spent her early years there. Sir William Boleyn's

tomb is plain; but the alteration of the lower arches of the choir, as has been already pointed out, was evidently intended to be his memorial.

2. In the second recess is the monument of Bishop OVERALL, (1618, 1619,) with a quaint coloured bust looking out from a niche above. The monument was placed here by his friend and secretary, John Cosin, after his own elevation to the see of Durham.

3. The third recess contains the tomb of Bishop GOLDWELL, (1472—1479,) the builder of the present clerestory and roof of the choir. The recess was not closed by a wall, like the others, and is now glazed at the back. The canopy of the tomb, covered with Perpendicular tracery, divides the arch. The trellis-work tracery of the vaulting should be remarked. The altar-tomb, of which the sides are enriched with ornamented panels, is at the south-west corner of the recess; and in the space, east, an altar was placed by Bishop Goldwell during his lifetime, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, SS. James the Greater and the Less. The effigy, which has been painted and gilt, is interesting in spite of much injury, and is remarkable as being "the only instance of the monumental effigy of a bishop, prior to the Reformation, in which the *cappa pluvialis*, or processional cope, is represented as the outward vestment instead of the casula, or chesible."—(*M. H. Bloxam.*) The ornaments of the cope and maniple are graceful, and deserve notice.

In front of the high altar was the monument of Bishop Herbert, founder of the cathedral. It was



BRASS LECTERN.

much injured at the Rebellion; and of a new one, which was erected in 1682, the slab alone now remains fixed in the pavement. In front of the apse stands a very beautiful brass *lectern* [Plate VI.], of late Decorated character, and deserving careful attention. A pelican "in her piety," with its claws resting on a globe, forms the support. Round the base are three small and excellent figures: a bishop with crozier, giving his benediction; a priest with chalice; and a second priest (or deacon?), once perhaps carrying the paten.

XII. The *transepts*, like the choir and the lower part of the central tower, are no doubt the work of Bishop Herbert. The general arrangement in both is the same as that of the nave and choir; they vary, however, in details. The north and south ends of both consist of three stories, in the lower of which are two windows with a blind arcade between, and in both the upper stories three Norman windows filled with Perpendicular tracery. Between the windows rise vaulting-shafts, the upper part of which is cut off by Bishop Nix's roof. The north and south ends of both transepts are divided from the rest of the church by panelled screens.

In the *south transept*, the lower part of the walls are lined by a Norman arcade; the arches of which, on the east side, are intersecting; and behind them a staircase ascends to the upper stories of the tower. A bad stained window, the subject of which is the Ascension, has been judiciously removed from the choir, and has found a place here. The monument of Bishop SCAMBLER

(1585—1595) is in this transept; as well as a memorial for those of the 9th (East Norfolk) Regiment of Foot who fell in the Afghan campaign of 1842. A clock, with figures of James I.'s time, which struck the quarters with their axes, formerly stood here; and was probably the successor of a very curious one erected between 1322 and 1325, with elaborate machinery, resembling that of the clocks at Wells and Exeter^s.

The very rich *roof* of the transept was the work of Bishop Nix, (1501—1536). "Its bosses illustrate the early history of Christ, the Presentation, the Baptism, the Disputation in the Temple, and some of the early miracles."

The south transept, like the north, had an apsidal chapel projecting from it easterly; which has long disappeared. At the south-east angle is the *vestry*, a long vaulted room of the Decorated period, with a chamber above it. It has been suggested that the vestry was originally the sacristy; and that the upper room was a chapel of St. Edmund^h.

In the vestry is preserved the painted *retables* or *altarpieces* of the Jesus Chapel, (§ xv.); a picture, according to Dr. Waagen, "of great significance in the history of English painting." "It contains, in five compartments, the Scourging, the Bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; and judging from the forms of art, may have been executed between 1380

^s This clock has been described (from the Norwich Sacrist Rolls) by Mr. Way in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xii.

^h Harrod, p. 301.

and 1400. Here that idealistic tendency so often mentioned is still throughout adhered to; the well-arranged drapery is of great softness; the colouring powerful, and in many of the heads of great warmth; finally, the treatment in size-colours broad, and in full body. Both the figures and the raised elegant patterns of the gold ground entirely resemble the indubitable English miniatures of the same period; so that there is no question in my mind as to the English origin of this picture. Excepting the Bearing of the Cross, of which much has fallen off, the preservation may be called good, and a glass over it prevents any further mischief¹. An engraving from this altar-piece will be found in the Norwich volume of the Archæological Institute, together with a paper on the subject by Mr. Albert Way, who (as does Mr. Digby Wyatt) considers it a work of the Siennese school, (*circa* 1370). The heads, he observes, especially that of St. John, "recall strikingly the works of Simone Memmi. That artist, however, died as early as 1345."

The Norman arch opening from this transept into the south choir-aisle, was filled with a screen-work of rich late Perpendicular tracery by ROBERT CASTLETON, Prior of Norwich from 1499 to 1529. A doorway opens below the screen-work. The design is graceful and singular; and in every way superior to that of the screens (of somewhat later date) with which Wolsey filled the Norman arches at Oxford. The iron-work

¹ Art Treasures in Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 437.

of the lock should be remarked, with the Prior's initials, R.C., P.N. (Prior Norwicensis.)

XIII. In the *north transept*, over a door at the north end, now closed, is a circular wall-arcade, curiously ornamented above with a billet-moulding disposed in triangular arches, with a rudely carved animal's head projecting between them. A circular arcade against the east wall of the transept marks the position of a staircase leading to the tower. The bosses of Bishop Nix's roof relate to the Nativity, and to the events immediately succeeding. The eastern apsidal chapel (possibly St. Osyth's) remains, but must be entered from without; the communication having been closed between it and the transept; (see § XIX.) The screen between this transept and the north choir-aisle is modern, and its carvings deserve attention. To make room for it, however, according to Mr. Harrod, a fine Early English doorway was destroyed.

XIV. The *aisles*, which extend quite round the choir, and from which three apsidal chapels projected at the east end, were Bishop Herbert's work. The details closely resemble those of the nave-aisles.

On the floor of the *north choir-aisle*, which we now enter, is a "remarkable Purbeck coped coffin-lid, presenting the very unusual addition of a bevelled edge, in which an inscribed brass was inserted entirely round it."—(*Harrod*.) The brass itself has disappeared, although the nails remain. It is possibly the monument of Prior NICHOLAS DE BRAMPTON, died 1268; "but if so, it must be a very early example of the brass fillet."

A long raised seat along the wall above this coffin-lid marks the site of the monument of Sir THOMAS ERPINGHAM, the "good Sir Thomas" of Agincourt; (see § XXI.) It has long been destroyed. A chapel, probably St. Stephen's, was entered through the arch which remains in the opposite wall, and corresponded with the Beauchamp chapel in the south choir-aisle. No trace of this Chapel now remains. On the wall adjoining is the Elizabethan monument of Dame Elizabeth Calthropp, died 1582.

A *vault* of early Decorated character crosses the north choir-aisle, and supports a gallery. The vault is of two bays; and in the eastern bay, at the head of the arch, is the quatrefoil opening into the choir which has been already noticed; (§ XI.) The vault has long had the name of the "Confessionary," and Blomfield (History of Norfolk) suggests that the priest, in the choir, heard confessions through the foiled opening, whilst the people remained in the aisle. The vault could not possibly, however, have served for this purpose, since the opening on the choir side is only a few inches above the pavement, and the priest must have laid himself on the ground in order to hear the confession through it. Professor Willis suggested that it was made as a hagio-scope, to afford a view of the high altar from the aisle. Mr. Harrod, with more probability, considers that the Easter sepulchre stood within the choir at this place, and that the opening "permitted the important duty of watching the sepulchre light during the ceremonies of Easter, without entering the choir." The gallery over

the vaulting in the aisle, he adds, "might contain a pair of organs for assisting the service here and in Jesus Chapel adjoining." . . . "The old singing-school was in the north aisle, east of the gallery, and in front of the entrance to Jesus Chapel; a position having no possible recommendation, unless it were that the organs were placed above ^k."

XV. Immediately beyond this vault, is *Jesus Chapel*; one of the three apsidal chapels which terminated the Norman cathedral toward the east. It is formed by intersecting circles, like the corresponding chapel in the south aisle; the apse or eastern end being a smaller semicircle. Jesus Chapel was entirely altered during the Perpendicular period, when its present windows were inserted. The manner in which the original Norman arcade has been converted into a piscina and sedilia, deserves notice. An altar-piece formerly in this chapel is now preserved in the vestry; (§ XII.) In front of the altar is a tomb said to have been brought here after the destruction of the Lady-chapel. It is probably that of Sir Thomas Windham and his two wives; but the brasses have been removed.

XVI. The original arrangement of the *apse* is here seen at its back. The arches were filled with a stone screen, terminating about half way up, and forming, on the inner side, a series of benches or sedilia for the

^k Churches and Convents of Norfolk, p. 293. The Easter sepulchre at Northwold, in the county of Norfolk, "has an arched aperture in a similar position to this quatrefoil, communicating with the sacristy adjoining."

clergy. The central arch had a stone chair or throne for the bishop, raised on steps at the back of the altar. (Portions of this throne still remain, walled up on the western side of the arch.) The side screens are ornamented at the back with an arcade of intersecting arches. At the back of the bishop's throne is a circular-headed recess, which was once possibly the opening to a vault below the apse. It has been suggested that the tomb of Bishop Herbert, the founder, may have been entered from here; or that the vault may have contained the bones of Roger Bigod, Constable of Norwich Castle, whom Bishop Herbert seems to have regarded as co-founder with himself, and who was certainly buried in the cathedral.

The Early English doorway, now blocked up, at the east end of the aisle, gave admission to the Lady-chapel, built by Bishop WALTER DE SUFFIELD, (1245—1257,) and destroyed by Dean Gardiner in the reign of Elizabeth. Its foundations, proving it to have been of considerable size, have been traced; as well as those of the apsidal Norman chapel, destroyed by Bishop Walter, which corresponded with those still remaining north-east and south-east.

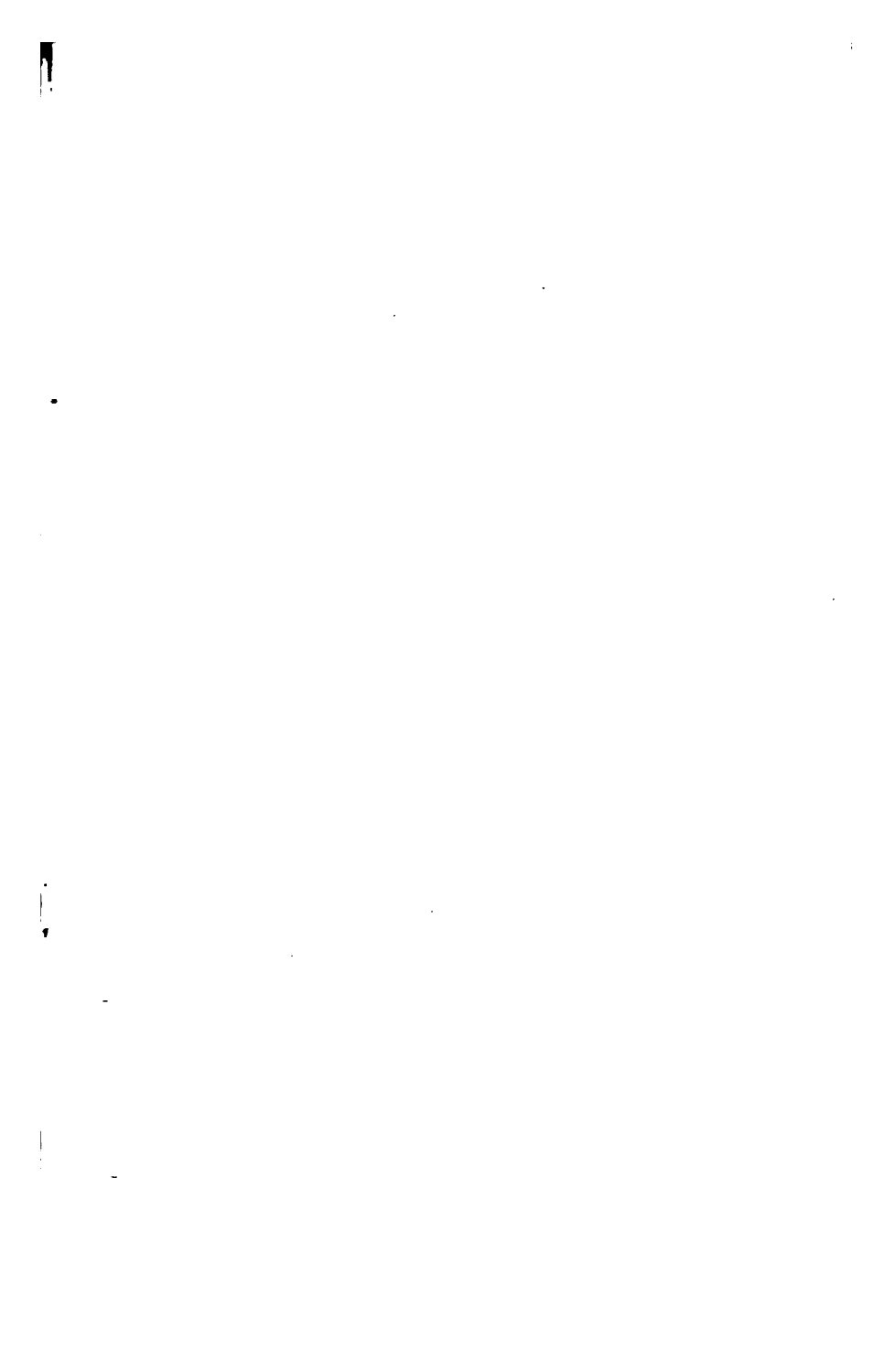
XVII. *St. Luke's Chapel*, in the south choir-aisle, resembles the Jesus Chapel opposite. It serves as the parish church of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh; and has been benched and "restored." In the aisle opposite is a *font* of Perpendicular date, much enriched with sculptures of the seven sacraments. These have been completely mutilated, and the numerous small figures are headless.

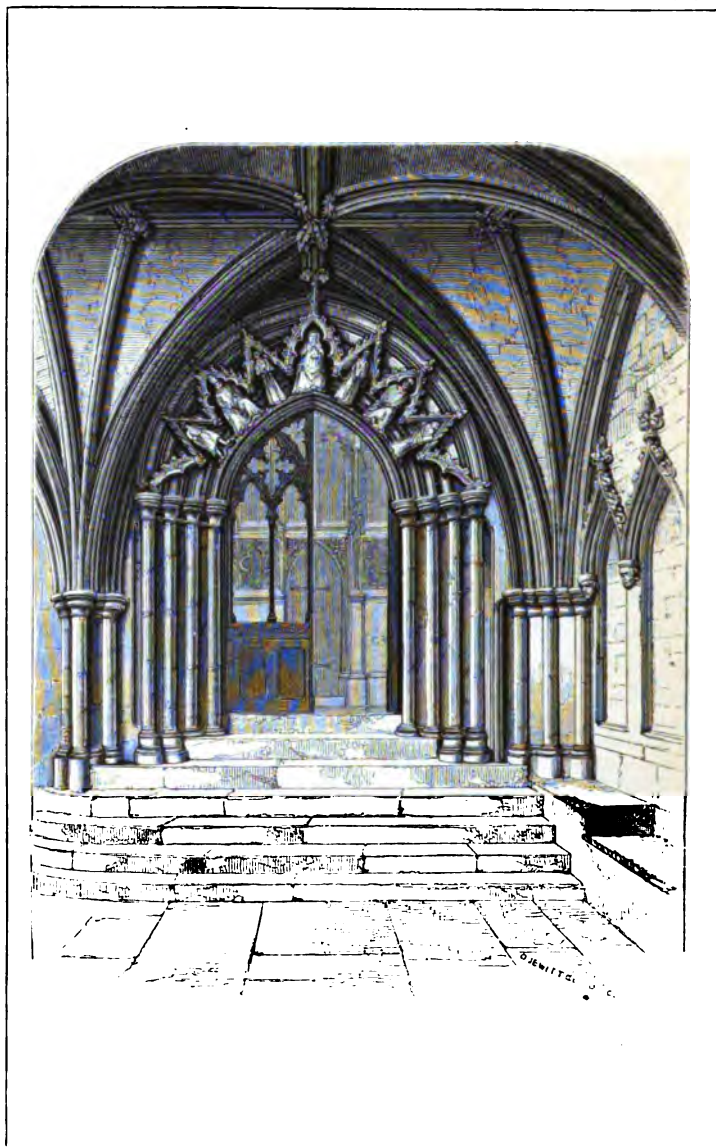
A chapel, called the *Beauchamp Chapel*, but probably founded *temp.* Edward II. by William Bauchun, opens south, below St. Luke's. The south window of this chapel, the canopied niche at the east end, which perhaps contained a statue of the Virgin, to whom the chapel was dedicated, and the bosses of the groined roof, which illustrate her life, death, and assumption,—should all be noticed. The Beauchamp Chapel now serves as the Consistory Court.

At the back of the choir, opposite this chapel, is a long stone seat, with panelled front, and small figures. It formed part of the monument of Bishop WAKERING, (1416—1426), which was shattered during the rebellion.

XVIII. Crossing the south transept, which has been already described, we pass into the *cloisters* through a door at their north-east angle. They are among the most beautiful in England; and the roof especially, the bosses of which are covered with elaborate carvings, deserves the most careful examination.

The Norman cloister was destroyed in the fire of 1272; and the present structure was commenced by Bishop RALPH WALPOLE in 1297. It was continued, according to William of Worcester, by Bishop SALMON and others, between the years 1299 and 1325; and completed, by different benefactors, between the years 1403 and 1425. Mr. Harrod, however, seems to be perfectly justified in asserting that the cloisters were begun and completed during the Decorated period, and that the portions said by Worcester to have been built between





SOUTH-EAST DOOR OF CLOISTERS.

1403 and 1425 were in reality only repaired and altered at that period.

The *eastern and southern* walks are those assigned by William of Worcester to Bishops Walpole and Salmon, and said to have been built between 1297 and 1325. The *Prior's door*, through which we pass into the cloister, is of this date, and of very unusual character [Plate VII.] Under canopies which cross the mouldings of the arch, are sculptured—at the top of the arch the Saviour in majesty, with an angel in the niche immediately below on either side; in the two lower niches on the west side, St. John the Baptist and Aaron (?) (this figure may perhaps represent an Archbishop with the pall and a high mitre; smaller figures are placed under the feet of each); in those on the east side Moses and David. The Law and the Gospel, or the priesthood and the “regale,” seem to be thus typified.

The large and beautiful windows of the east walk are all early Decorated, and, like the others in the cloister, were originally glazed in their upper portions. Three niches or sedilia, with canopies resting on four heads, of a peasant, a bishop, a king, and a priest, are now built up in the east wall, close without the prior's door. Their original use is unknown¹. The door in the sixth

¹ “A recess in the same position at Wenlock, having three lofty arches toward the cloister, was pointed out, at the visit paid to that priory by the Institute in 1854, as a specimen of the *Trisantia* of Ducange. ‘All who remain for Complines, supper being finished, going forth from the chapter-house to the left hand of the entrance, ought to remain in the *Trisantia* until all the convent are gone forth.’—(Bernard, *Cluniac Customs*, ch. lxxvii.)

bay led into the "alype," or passage between the transept and chapter-house. The open arches beyond led into the chapter-house itself, which has long been destroyed. [The entrance, and portions of the wall-arcade, formerly within the chapter-house, remain on the exterior of the cloisters.] The door beyond, again, was probably that leading to the staircase of the dormitory. The so-called "dark entry," a vault at the south end of this walk, formed an approach to the Infirmary, which extended east of the cloister. The bosses of the roof in the east walk contain subjects from the four Gospels, together with some very beautiful knots of foliage.

The *south walk*, built by Bishop SALMON, (1299—1325,) has a slight difference in the tracery of its windows, which are of more advanced Decorated character. The greater part of the bosses of the roof illustrate the Revelation of St. John. Other subjects are added, from sacred and legendary history. That engraved below evidently represents the dedication of a church. At the angle of the south and west walks a very fine view of the cathedral and its spire is obtained. Here also the original disposition of the triforium may be seen. The roof sloped from close under the clerestory to the worn Norman arcade in the exterior wall. All above this arcade is Perpendicular work.

The *west walk* is said by William of Worcester to

Whether these were sedilia appropriated to a similar purpose or not, I am unable to say."—*Harrod, Churches and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 308.



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have been built early in the fifteenth century^m; but a careful examination of the windows will shew that they belong to the Decorated period, as do the piers and arches; although the whole walk is of later character

"A curious error in the transcripts of William of Worcester led to much antiquarian discussion until it was recently cleared up by Mr. Harrod. Worcester was made to say that the walk from the Infirmary door to the arches "where the marriages hung" (in *quibus maritagia dependunt*) was Bishop Salmon's work; the rest, "from the marriages," (a *maritaggiis*), the work of other benefactors. Accordingly a boss representing Adam and Eve on either side of the tree, was long absurdly called the "Espousals," and thought to be Worcester's *maritagia*. Mr. Harrod, however, on examining the MS. found *manutergia* to be the true word. Worcester referred therefore to the arches above the lavatories in *quibus manutergia dependunt*, "in which the towels hang."

than those east and south. Some alterations were, however, made here at the time mentioned by Worcester. The refectory door, which opens at the south end of the walk, is of this period; and the ancient *lavatories* [Plate IX.], in the first two bays, have arches and niches at the back of them, which are also Perpendicular. In the next bay but one is a door which led into the Guests' hall; of which an Early English doorway, and a fragment of an Early English window, remain in the adjoining garden. Considerable portions of the locutory and principal entrance of the priory remain in the Canon's house opening at the north-west end of the walk, and are of transitional and Early English character.

The subjects from the Revelation are continued in the roof-bosses of this walk.

The *north walk* of the cloister contains eight Perpendicular windows, set in Decorated frames; one early Decorated at the east end, and two late Decorated at the west. The bosses represent the legends of different saints, together with a few subjects from the New Testament.

The east, south, and west walks have an upper story, lighted by small windows looking into the quadrangle. The north walk is without this addition.

XIX. The *exterior* of the central tower and spire may be well seen either from the south walk of the cloisters, or from the lower close. The tower was entirely refaced in 1856; but its Norman arcades and ornamentation have been carefully preserved. The flanking turrets, with their reed-like shafts, are Nor-



LAVATORIES IN THE CLOISTER.

man as high as the foot of the spires which crown them. These spires are Perpendicular; as is the parapet of the tower itself. The arcades and circular openings of the tower may be compared with those of the Norman transeptal towers at Exeter,—which are, however, of somewhat later date. The *spire*, which rises gracefully between the pinnacles of the turrets, was added by Bp. PERCY, (1356—1369). It was, however, much injured by lightning in 1463, and was then repaired by Bp. Lehart. Its height, from the battlements of the tower, is 169 feet. The entire height from the ground is 287 feet,—exceeding that of the (late) spire of Chichester, (271 feet,) and of Lichfield, (258 feet,) but falling much short of Salisbury, (404 feet).

The face of the *south transept* has been re-cased,—a process which, however necessary, has deprived it of much of its antique character. The conical spires which terminate the square Norman flanking turrets are modern.

The exterior of the *choir* is well seen from the lower close. Flying buttresses carried from the wall of the triforium connect it with Bishop Goldwell's noble clere-story above, (see § x.) Seated figures of the apostles form the pinnacles of the buttresses; and the clere-story itself, which is flat roofed, is surrounded by a battlemented parapet. At the south-east and north-east angles of the choir project the Norman apsidal chapels—intersecting segments of circles, with circular stair turrets at the point of intersection. A blind arcade passes round below the upper story, which has a second arcade

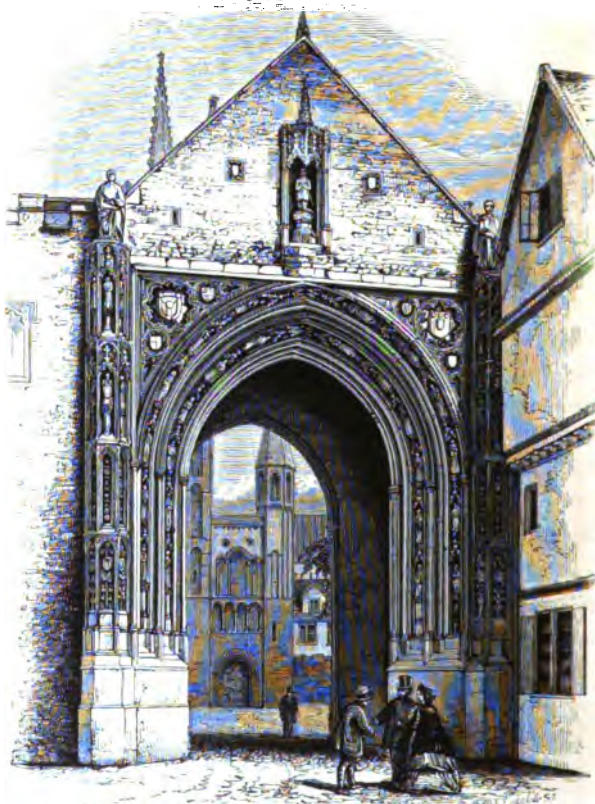
of large and separated arches. Each chapel has three windows below; one at the east end, and two in the nave.

The general view of the cathedral from the *south-east* [see Frontispiece] comprehends all these details. That from the *north-east* should be looked out for toward sunset, when a very fine effect is occasionally produced. The visitor should pass beyond the lower close, to the portion of the Precincts known as "Life's Green," and place himself as near as possible to the north wall of it. The various lines of the choir and transept, with trees clustering between them, and the tower and spire rising in the background, form a composition of unusual grace and beauty.

From the east end of the north transept projects a chapel in a ruinous condition, probably that of St. Osyth. It has long been used as a storehouse. It apparently resembled in every respect the eastern chapels of the choir. The vaulting, filled in with flints, and carried on even with the large Norman arch formerly opening from the transept, should be noticed. The east window was altered in the late Decorated period.

The *north transept* retains its ancient front. In a niche over the door is a statue said to represent the founder, Bishop Herbert.

XX. The *Bishop's palace*, which was formerly connected with the north transept by a vaulted passage, was founded by Bishop Herbert, but almost entirely rebuilt by Bishop SALMON, (1299—1325). It has been much altered and added to at different times; but still



ERPINGHAM GATE.

contains some portions which may have belonged to Bishop Herbert's work. Bishop Salmon's great hall was destroyed after the Rebellion; at which time it was used by the Puritans as a "preaching house." A ruin in the garden is said to be the remains of the grand entrance. The Bishop's chapel, at the east end of the palace, was restored by Bishop Reynolds in 1662. It contains the monuments of Bishop REYNOLDS himself, (1661—1676,) and of his successor, Bishop SPARROW, (1676—1685,) both of whom are buried in it.

XXI. The principal entrance to the palace is through a fine Perpendicular gateway, built by Bishop Alnwick about 1430. Far more interesting, however, are the two gateways leading into the Precincts; both of which deserve especial notice. The earliest is *St. Ethelbert's Gate* [Title-page], at the south end of the close; built by the citizens of Norwich after the disturbances of 1272, to replace the great gates which were then destroyed by them. The lower part is accordingly good early Decorated. The upper portion, of intermixed flint and stone, is modern, and was added early in the present century. The chamber above the archway served as a chapel, dedicated to St. Ethelbert. The spandrels on either side of the principal arch are filled with foliage, from which project figures of a man with a sword and round shield, and of a dragon which he is attacking. On the side toward the Close is a Decorated window, and some ancient flint panelling. The entire gateway is a good example of the period.

The second, or *Erpingham Gate* [Plate X.], stands

opposite the west front of the cathedral, and is said by Blomefield to have been built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, (Shakespeare's "white-headed" knight, who fought at Agincourt,) as a penance imposed on him by Bishop Spencer, on account of his former patronage of Wickliffe and the Lollards. The truth of this story, however, has been entirely disproved by Mr. Harrod. It seems to have arisen from a misreading of the word "yenk," think—answering to the "have mynde" or prayer for remembrance which appears on many brasses, which is placed on labels in front of the gate. This word was read by Blomefield as "pena," and on this slender foundation, together with the fact that Sir Thomas's statue above is "on his knees, as if begging pardon for his offence," the story of the penance was constructed. The arms of Sir Thomas and of his two wives appear on the gate; which could not therefore have been erected until after his second marriage, which took place about 1411. Bishop Spencer, who is said to have imposed the penance, had died in 1406.

The gatehouse itself "consists of a noble, well-proportioned arch, supported on each side by a semi-hexagonal buttress; arch, spandrels, and buttresses being covered with sculpture. The arch-mouldings are divided into two parts; the outer one containing a series of fourteen female saints, the inner one twelve male saints, admirably executed, with a light and elegant

^a The same motto, "yenk," "is placed several times in brass labels on a stone commemorating a Curzoun in Bylaugh Church."
—*Harrod*.

canopy over each. Four labels with the word 'yenk' are placed between the bases of the shafts of the main archway, across clusters of oak-leaves and acorns, from which the pedestals of the lower figures emerge. The canopies are masses of luxuriant foliage, designed with the most exquisite skill. The spandrels contain the device of the Trinity on the left, the arms of Erpingham on the right. The buttresses are covered with shields and devices of the families of Erpingham, Clopton, and Walton, (those of Sir Thomas Erpingham's wives,) and bear on the top two figures of ecclesiastics. The upper part of the gate is much plainer than the rest, and is of flint with stone dressings. In the centre, under a canopy of the same period as the other sculptured decorations, is a kneeling figure of Sir Thomas Erpingham*."

XXII. The open space west and north of the cathedral served as a general cemetery; and in it, on the left hand, between the Erpingham gate and the west door of the church, Bishop Salmon, about 1316, built a charnel-house, with a chapel of St. John the Evangelist above it. The chapel now serves as the *Grammar-school*; and the crypt, in which all bones fit for removal were "to be reserved till the day of resurrection," is now divided into cellars, let as storehouses. In this crypt were two altars, of which traces remain. At one of them a mass was daily said for the souls of the founder and his family, for all bishops of the see, and for the souls of all those whose bones were carried thither.

* Harrod, p. 264.

The porch by which the grammar-school is entered was added by Bishop Lehart, (1446—1472,) and deserves notice for its unusual character. Remark also the foiled



openings (see woodcut) giving light to the crypt.

On the lawn opposite the school is a statue of Lord Nelson, who for a short time was a pupil here.

XXIII. The scanty remains of the monastic buildings which adjoin the cloisters have already been noticed; (§ XVIII.) The present *Deanery*, a little east of the south-east angle of the cloister, contains some Early English portions, which may have belonged either to the priors' apartments, or to the Infirmary. Three late Norman pillars which remain in front of a house in the lower close are however considered by Professor Willis to mark the site of the latter building.

The *Chapter Library*, which comprises a good collection of books, (although without any that call for especial notice,) is preserved in one of the houses in the Precincts.

XXIV. The best distant views of the cathedral—which however are none of them very satisfactory—are

to be gained from the castle hill, from the new church at Thorpe, and from Mousehold-heath. Mousehold forms the high ground south of the city, and was the spot on which Kett, the "tanner of Wymondham," fixed his camp during the rising of the Norfolk peasantry in the reign of Edward VI.

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

AFTER the death, in the year 616, of Ethelbert of Kent, who had received and been baptized by St. Augustine, and partly in consequence, according to Bede, of the temporary apostacy of his son Eadbald, the Bretwaldaship, or predominating influence among the Anglo-Saxon princes, passed into the hands of Rædwald, King of the East Anglians. Rædwald, during a visit to Kent, had adopted Christianity, and had been baptized: but he afterwards relapsed into paganism, and gave a place in the same temple to the altar of Christ and to that of his ancient gods^a. It was whilst an exile at the court of Rædwald that Eadwin of Northumbria received the mysterious visit which prepared the way for his conversion by Paulinus after his restoration to the throne^b. This event belongs to the early history of the see of York; but it was not without influence on the kingdom of East Anglia. Eorpwald, the son of Rædberht, was converted by Christian missionaries

^a "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad victimas demoniorum; quod videlicet fanum, rex ejusdem provincie Alduulf, qui nostra ætate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse et se in pueritia vidisse testabatur."—*Bede, H. E.*, lib. ii. c. 15.

^b See the narrative in Bede, *H. E.*, ii. 12.

(possibly by Paulinus himself) sent into his kingdom by Eadwin. On the death of Eorpwald, East Anglia became once more heathen; but Christianity was finally established by Sigebert, brother of Eorpwald, who had been converted whilst an exile in Burgundy. About the year 630, FELIX, a Burgundian missionary to whom Sigebert may have owed his own conversion, was duly appointed by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the see of the East Anglians, among whom his labours seem to have been eminently successful. St. Augustine had landed on the coast of Thanet in 597; and East Anglia thus "assumes a regular place in the ecclesiastical scheme of England" little more than a quarter of a century later.

[A.D. 630—647.] FELIX established his see at Dummoc, or Dummoc-ceastre, now Dunwich, a seaport on the coast of Suffolk. Dummoc had been a Roman station, as is sufficiently proved by the remains which from time to time have been discovered there; and besides the advantage of its port, its walls may still have been strong enough to afford some protection. It was, moreover, connected with the interior by ancient, perhaps British, roads, which led in one direction toward Bury St. Edmunds, and in another toward Norwich. At Dummoc, Sigebert built a palace for himself, and a church for Felix: but soon after the establishment of the see he resigned his crown in favour of his kinsman Egric, and retired to a monastery which he had himself founded. In 635, during an invasion of East Anglia by the Mercians, under Penda, Sigebert was dragged unwillingly from his cloister, and compelled to be present on the battle-field; where, however, *professionis suae non immemor*, he refused to carry weapons, and was only distinguished by a rod (*virga*) which he held in his hand. Sigebert fell in this battle. In his kingdom, says Bede, "desiring to imitate those things which he had seen well arranged in Gaul, he founded a school in which boys might be taught letters, with the aid of Felix, the bishop whom he had received

from Kent, and who furnished them with pædagogues and masters, after the Kentish fashion." Bede gives no locality for this school; yet the passage, without the slightest reason, has been looked upon as recording the foundation of the University of Cambridge,—a place which, at that period, was not even within the limits of Sigeberht's kingdom.

Sigeberht was succeeded by Anna, father of Etheldreda, the sainted foundress of Ely, (see that Cathedral,) and of three other daughters, Sexburga, Ethelburga, and Wihtburga,—all of whom, at different periods, embraced the monastic life.

The successor of Felix in the see of Dummoc was—

[A.D. 647—652.] THOMAS, who had been his deacon, and who was a "Gyrwian," or inhabitant of Cambridgeshire.

[A.D. 652—669.] BERCTGILS, surnamed Bonifacius, a Kentishman, appointed by Abp. Honorius, and

[A.D. 669—673.] BISI, succeeded. Bisi was present at the council of Hertford, held under Abp. Theodore in 673, at which it was proposed to "increase the number of bishops as the number of the faithful increases." No determination was come to by the synod: but Bisi soon afterwards became incapable, from a severe illness, of discharging his episcopal functions, and Abp. Theodore proceeded accordingly to divide his diocese. A new see was established at *Elmham* in Norfolk, to which BADUWINI was appointed. Bisi was deposed, and the see of Dummoc was filled by ÆCCL.

[A.D. 673—870.] From the division of the East Anglian diocese to the year 870, in which occurred the great irruption of the Northmen and the martyrdom of St. Edmund, the sees of Dummoc and of Elmham seem to have been duly filled, although it is scarcely possible to establish the exact years of succession. Little more than the names of the bishops has been recorded. HUMBERT, Bp. of Elmham, is said to have fallen by the side of St. Edmund in battle with

the Danes, (870). "Nor was there another bishop of East Anglia for more than eighty years, when Æthelwulf was consecrated by Archbishop Oda, and the two sees united in one. In fact, the compelled Christianity of Guthorm and his followers, whom Ælfred suffered to take possession of the country, did not hold out any very secure prospects to a bishop; and till some time after 921, paganism was very probably the profession of a majority in East Anglia^c."

[A.D. 956—1070.] From the consecration of Æthelwulf to that of Herfast, the first Norman bishop, East Anglia contained but a single see—that of *Elmham*. The will of Bp. THEODRED, who died about 975, has been printed by Kemble, and is a document of considerable interest; but of the remaining bishops we have little more than the names: and even of these the true arrangement is uncertain. EGELMAR, the last Bishop of Elmham, was the brother of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was deposed, together with him, in a synod held at Winchester in the year 1070. (See CANTERBURY—ABP. STIGAND). Stigand had himself held the East Anglian see for a short time, before the accession of Egelmar.

[A.D. 1070—1086.] HERFAST, one of the Conqueror's chaplains, partly in obedience to the decree of the council of London, (1075,) which ordered the removal of bishops' sees from villages (*villulae*) to more important towns, transferred the East Anglian see from Elmham to *Thetford*, the Roman Sitomagus, and one of the principal towns of East Anglia before, and for some time after, the Norman Conquest. Malmesbury, however, who "gives Herfast but a moderate character, either for learning or hospitality," asserts that he made the change "*ne nihil facere videretur, (ut sunt Normanni famæ in futurum studiosissimi* ^d.)" Herfast had

^c J. M. Kemble, "The Bishops of East Anglia," in the *Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute*.

^d De Pontif., lib. ii. There is reason to believe that the transfer

been a monk of Bec, and had obtained a considerable reputation for learning there, before the arrival of Lanfranc. Lanfranc exposed his entire ignorance, and drew upon himself in consequence the resentment not only of Herfast but of William of Normandy, which was not appeased without difficulty. Herfast seems to have retained the favour of William after the Conquest, since it was the King himself who placed him in the East Anglian see.

[A.D. 1086—1091.] WILLIAM DE BEAUFEU, one of the "King's Clerks," succeeded.

[A.D. 1091—1119.] HERBERT LOSINGA was the bishop who removed the see from Thetford, and fixed it permanently at *Norwich*, in accordance, apparently, with the original intention of the Conqueror.

The place of Bishop Herbert's birth is doubtful, but there is strong reason for believing him to have been born at a manor called Esham, in the hundred of Hoxne, in Suffolk. Educated probably as a Benedictine, he became Prior of Fécamp, in Normandy, and was brought thence to England by William Rufus, who made him Abbot of Ramsey. The chroniclers, with Malmsbury at their head, declare that he bought his bishopric for a sum of £1,900, and that he purchased at the same time the abbacy of Winchester for his father. Verses recording the simoniacal dealings of the prelate have been preserved :—

"Proh dolor ! Ecclesie nummis venduntur et are
Filius est Præsul, Pater Abbas, Simon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus !"

But Malmsbury adds, that if Bishop Herbert sinned in his

of the see to Thetford was only a temporary arrangement, and that the Conqueror from the first intended to fix it at Norwich. The Domesday Survey records at Norwich,—“In the proper court of the bishop, 14 mansuræ which King William gave to Arfast for the principal seat of the bishopric.” The reason for the temporary transfer to Thetford is quite uncertain.

earlier days, he amply redeemed his errors by his subsequent virtuous life and good deeds,—“*præ se semper, ut aiunt, ferens Hieronymi dictum, ‘Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.’*”

Herbert removed his see from Thetford to Norwich in the year 1094; and two years afterwards laid the first stone of the existing cathedral. (See Pt. I. § 1.) Norwich, the ancient Venta Icenorum, was then, as it still is, by far the most populous and important place in the eastern counties; and the site of the new cathedral was overlooked by the great Norman stronghold which Rufus had but just constructed on the highest ground within the city. A letter of Herbert's to his overseers, or *appares*, seems to describe the progress of the structure, and “delineates a lively picture of the hive of workmen at the cathedral:”—“*Languet opus, et in apparandis materiis nullus vester apparet fervor. Ecce regis et mei ministri fervent in operibus suis; lapides colligunt, collectos afferunt, campos et plateas, domos et curias implent; et vos torpetis.*” The church, however, was not entirely completed during Herbert's episcopate. (See Pt. I. § 1.) “Many passages in his epistles shew him to have laboured under infirm health during, at least, his latter years. . . . He appears, notwithstanding, to have been always ready to obey his Sovereign's call, or that of the church; and there are, I think, intimations that, with more vigour of constitution, he would have been the successor of Anselm at Canterbury. This mental activity led him, in 1116, to embark with Radulfus de Turbine, the new Archbishop, in an embassy to Rome, with a view of arranging the long-disputed points respecting investitures, and the legislative authority in England; but the exertion seems to have been fatal to him. On his return he fell sick at Placentia; and although he became, after some time, sufficiently convalescent to admit of his return by easy stages to Norwich . . . yet nature yielded on the 22nd of July, either of 1119 or of 1120, (for it is

uncertain which,) and he was buried before the high altar in his cathedral church*."

The epithet *Losinga*, 'Flatterer,' was perhaps not applied to Bishop Herbert until after his death. His "Epistles," which are curious and interesting, although they throw little or no light on his own life, were recently discovered in a MS. belonging to the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and have been published, (Bruxelles, 1845). They sufficiently prove that Herbert was a man of high literary attainments, and, for the most part, shew us a kind-hearted and benevolent prelate. One among them, however, addressed to the brethren at Thetford, in which he excommunicates "certain malicious persons who during last week have broken into my park at Humersfield, and killed in the night the only deer which I had there," indicates that Bishop Herbert could be fierce on occasion:—"May the flesh of those," he writes, "who eat my stag's flesh rot away as the flesh of Herod rotted, who shed innocent blood for Christ... Let them have the anathema maranatha unless they quickly repent and give satisfaction. Fiat! Fiat! Fiat! This excommunication I ordain, my beloved brethren, not because I pay much regard to one stag, but because I would have them repent and confess, and be corrected for such an offence."

In addition to the cathedral of Norwich, and its adjoining priory, Herbert is said to have built five other churches; two at Norwich, one at Elmham, one at Lynne, and one at Yarmouth.

[A.D. 1121; deposed 1145.] EVERARD, Archdeacon of Salisbury, succeeded. Little is known of him, beyond the fact

* From a memoir of Bishop Herbert in the *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. iii., quoted by Harrod, *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 241.

† Harrod, p. 326. Mr. Harrod has given translations of the more interesting epistles of Bishop Herbert in the appendix to his *Castles and Convents*.

that in the year 1145 he retired from Norwich. According to Henry of Huntingdon he was deposed on account of his cruelty:—"Vir crudelissimus, et ob hoc jam depositus". He had probably been concerned in the wars of Stephen. From Norwich, Bishop Everard retired to Fontenay, near Mont Bard, Côte d'Or, where he had built an abbey, the foundations of which were laid in 1137. "He fixed his retreat upon a mountain in the neighbourhood of the newly erected abbey, on the south side of which he caused a modest palace to be built, of which numerous ruins remain in a wood, with a walled-in park, and roads fenced by thick thorns." Everard died in 1150, and was buried under the great altar of the abbey church, where a monument was erected to his memory. The original stone with its inscription disappeared at a very early period, and it is believed to have been replaced soon after by another, with the following inscription:—

"Hic jacet Dominus Ebrardus Norwicensis
Episcopus, qui edificavit Templum istud".

Bishop Everard had the true Norman instinct for building; and the nave of Norwich Cathedral is attributed to him. (Pt. I. § iv.) It was during his episcopate that the boy "St. William" was said to have been crucified by the Jews, (March 22, 1144). His shrine formerly stood on the north side of the choir-screen. (Pt. I. § vii.) A similar story is localized in many other towns, both in England and on the Continent; some remarks on the amount of historical truth contained in the accusation against the Jews will be found in LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, Pt. II., BISHOP LEXINGTON, in whose time the murder of "sweet Hugh of Lincoln" took place, according to Matthew Paris.

[A.D. 1146—1174.] WILLIAM DE TURBE, a monk of the priory

^s H. Huntingdon, *De Contemptu Mundi*, quoted by Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 408, (note).

^a Harrod, from *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. v.

attached to the cathedral, was elected on the deposition of Everard. During his episcopate the church suffered much from fire. (Pt. I. § 1.)

[A.D. 1175—1200.] JOHN OF OXFORD, had been Dean of Salisbury. He restored and completed the cathedral. (Pt. I. § 1.) In 1176, the year following his elevation to the see of Norwich, he conducted the Princess Joanna, daughter of Henry II., to Sicily, where she married the King, William the Good. In 1179 the Bishop of Norwich was appointed one of the Itinerant Justices for deciding civil and criminal pleas within the eastern Counties. These Justices of Assize, to whose institution we owe the uniformity of our common law, were first appointed by Henry II.¹

[A.D. 1200—1214.] JOHN DE GRAY, was one of three bishops (the other two were Peter de Roches of Winchester, and Philip of Durham) who, in spite of all the insults and oppressions heaped by King John on the Church and country, continued his firm partizans and the instruments of his exactions. John de Gray, who had been Archdeacon of Gloucester, and, in 1189, one of Henry the Second's Justices Itinerant, became Bishop of Norwich in the year 1202; and in 1206, on the death of Hubert Walter, was by the King's influence elected to the primacy. The monks of Canterbury, however, who had been divided into two parties,—one of which had chosen their sub-prior, Reginald,—appealed to Rome. Innocent III. annulled both elections, and appointed Stephen Langton. (See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II., ARCHBISHOP LANGTON.) The long quarrel between King John and the Pope, which produced the famous Interdict, and which terminated in the King's resignation of his crown to Pandulf, was the result.

In 1211 Bishop de Gray was appointed Grand Justiciary of Ireland. In 1214 he died at St. Jean d'Angely, in Poitou, on his return from Rome. His body was brought

¹ See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 337, (ed. 1855.)

to England, and interred in the cathedral at Norwich. The Interdict had ceased in the same year.

[A.D. 1222—1226.] PANDULF MASCA, the legate of Pope Innocent III.,—who had received King John's submission in the church of the Templars, and who had subsequently raised the Interdict,—was the next bishop of Norwich. The see, however, had remained vacant for seven years, (1214—1222,) during the struggle between King John and his barons, and the commencement of the reign of Henry III. Pandulph, after his election, proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated by Pope Honorius III. The "practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy" had been commenced by John; but it attained its highest pitch during the long reign of Henry III., and after causing many popular outbreaks, was at last one of the grievances set forth by the revolted barons, under Simon de Montfort. "Pope Honorius writes to Pandulf not merely authorizing but urging him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a singular plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica. These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm; to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were blood-suckers, drawing out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents shew that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil¹."

As Bishop of Norwich, Pandulf procured the grant to himself of the first-fruits (*primitiæ*) from all the ecclesiastical benefices in his diocese. His successors continued the

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 308.

same exaction until the accession of Bishop Ralph de Walpole in 1289. Pandulf died Sept. 16, 1236, and was buried at Norwich.

[A.D. 1226—1236.] THOMAS BLUNVILLE, Clerk of the Royal Exchequer. After his death the see remained vacant for three years; when

[A.D. 1239—1244.] WILLIAM DE RALEY, Treasurer of Exeter, was appointed. In 1244 he became bishop-elect of Winchester, and died at Tours in 1250. (See WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.)

[A.D. 1245—1257.] WALTER SUFFIELD, whose reputation in the University of Paris was considerable, succeeded. He is said to have been *totius divini ac humani juris peritissimus*, and was chosen accordingly by Pope Innocent to conduct a valuation of ecclesiastical revenues throughout England. "This valuation was entered upon record, called the Norwich tax, and was afterwards made use of upon the grant of subsidies and assessments of the clergy¹." Bishop Walter built the hospital of St. Giles at Norwich, and added the Lady-chapel at the east end of his cathedral, pulled down by Dean Gardiner in the reign of Elizabeth. (See Pt. I. § I.) During a great dearth, the Bishop sold all the silver plate he possessed, and distributed the proceeds to the poor; among whom the reputation of his charity and great virtue became widely spread, and miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb in the Lady-chapel. He died at Colchester in 1257.

[A.D. 1258—1266.] SIMON DE WANTON.

[A.D. 1266—1278.] ROGER SKIRNYNG. During his episcopate much of the priory and portions of the cathedral church were greatly damaged by fire, which broke out during an attack on the priory by the citizens. Constant disputes between the monks and the men of Norwich concerning the right of the former to a toll on the merchandize brought to

¹ Collier, Ch. Hist.

the great fair, held annually at the time of the festival of the Holy Trinity, at last broke into violence. Two accounts of this tumult have been preserved: the first by Bartholomew Cotton, a monk of the priory^a—which is, of course, the monastic history of it; the second in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* of the Corporation of London^b, probably obtained from communication with the Corporation of Norwich, and giving the version of the citizens. The two accounts differ much as to the causes which led to the fire, but nearly agree as to the amount of damage done by it. "Certain of them," (the citizens,) says Cotton, "without the tower of St. George, with catapults, threw fire into the great belfry which was above the choir, and by this fire they burned the whole church, except the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which was miraculously preserved. The dormitory, refectory, strangers' hall, infirmary, with the chapel, and almost all the edifices of the court, were consumed by fire." "As the fire waxed stronger," says the London account, "the belfry was burned, and all the houses of the monks, and also, as some say, the cathedral church; so that all which could be burned was reduced to ashes, except a certain chapel, which remained uninjured." The roofs and ceilings, which were no doubt of wood, were at this time entirely destroyed; the Norman stone-work of the nave suffered little; that of the choir was probably more injured.

The year of this attack on the priory (1272) was the last year of the long reign of Henry III., who came to Norwich to investigate the affair, and who died at St. Edmundsbury after leaving the city. After long disputes, during which Norwich was placed under an interdict by the Bishop, Edward I. in 1275 decided that the citizens should, within three years, pay 3,000 marks to the prior and convent, for

^a See it in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 399.

^b This very curious account is given at length by Mr. Harrod, *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, pp. 250—253.

the restoration of the church and other buildings; that the Corporation should give a golden pyx (?—"Unum vas aureum . . . ad tenendum Corpus Christi super altare") of ten pounds weight for the high altar, and that the interdict should be at once removed^o. St. Ethelbert's Gate, usually said to have been built by the citizens in expiation of their attack on the priory, was probably built with the money thus paid. The King's decision permits the prior and convent to make their new entrance wherever they pleased^p.

[A.D. 1278—1288.] WILLIAM MIDDLETON: dedicated the cathedral in the name of the Holy Trinity on the day of his enthronization. The roofs had by this time been restored. Bishop Middleton, who was distinguished as a canonist and civilian, was for some time Edward the First's Seneschal at Bordeaux; "qui in esculentis et poculentis aliis præ cæteris magnatibus Angliæ ibi moram trahentibus, se exhibuit recommendatum^q."

[A.D. 1289, trans. to Ely 1299.] RALPH WALPOLE, Archdeacon of Ely.

[A.D. 1299—1335.] JOHN SALMON, Prior of Ely; Lord Chancellor from 1319 to 1323. Bishop Salmon built a hall and chapel for his palace at Norwich.

[A.D. 1325—1336.] WILLIAM AYERMIN, Master of the Rolls; Keeper for some time of the Great Seal, during the illness of Bishop Salmon, and Edward the Third's Treasurer of the Exchequer.

[A.D. 1337—1343.] ANTONY BEK, nephew of Antony Bek, the powerful Bishop of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, was a severe master to the monks, and is said to have been poisoned by his own servants.

[A.D. 1344—1355.] WILLIAM BATHMAN, a vigorous defender

^o Cotton, ap. *Angl. Sac.*, i. 400.

^p "Dicimus insuper et ordinamus; quod dicti Prior et Conventus faciant ex quacunque parte voluerint introitum dicti Prioratus, absque damno vel præjudicio alieno."—*Cotton*, p. 401.

^q Cotton.

of the rights of his see, compelled Robert, Baron of Morley, who had broken into certain of the Bishop's parks, to perform public penance, in spite of the King's threatening letters. Bishop Bateman died at Avignon, where, with Henry Duke of Lancaster, and other nobles, he had gone on an embassy from Edward III., to arrange, under the presidency of Pope Innocent VI., the English claims to certain portions of French territory. During his episcopate more than fifty-seven thousand persons are said to have perished in Norwich alone, from the plague called the "Black Death." Following the examples of Walter de Merton (see ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.,) at Oxford, and of Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, at Cambridge, (see ELY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.,) Bishop Bateman founded Trinity Hall at Cambridge, for the study of civil and canon law.

[A.D. 1356—1369.] THOMAS PERCY, intruded by the Pope at the instance of Henry Duke of Lancaster. During his episcopate the spire of the cathedral was struck by lightning, and the masses of stone which fell from it did serious mischief to the choir roofs.

[A.D. 1370—1406.] HENRY SPENSER, grandson of the favourite of Edward II., had been, with an elder brother, in the pay of the Pope, Hadrian V., during his war with Bernabo Visconti of Milan. By the Pope he was named Bishop of Norwich; and he brought with him to England the love of arms, and the skill in the use of them, which had in effect procured him his bishopric. During the insurrections of 1381, whilst Wat Tyler and his followers advanced on London, the men of Norfolk and Suffolk rose in great force, and made Litster, a dyer of Norwich, their captain. "Spenser, the young and martial Bishop of Norwich... at the head of eight lances and a few archers, boldly arrested one of the ringleaders. A few knights gathered round him. Armed from head to foot, with a huge two-handed sword, he attacked an immense rabble, hewed them down, put the rest to flight, seized the captain, a dyer of Norwich, and

reduced his diocese to peace by these victories, and by remorseless executions". "At a later period, when the Lollards, by preaching against pilgrimages, endangered the interests of Our Lady of Walsingham, Bishop Spenser swore that if any of Wycliffe's preachers came into his diocese, he would burn or behead him. 'Faith and religion,' says Walsingham, 'remained inviolate in the diocese of Norwich'."

In 1385, the ninth year of Richard II., "just at the time when the schism had shaken the Papacy to its base, and Wycliffe had denounced both popes alike as Antichrist, and had found strong sympathy in the hearts and minds of men . . . for the first time a holy civil war is proclaimed in Christendom, especially in England, the seat of these new opinions—a war of pope against pope. The Pontiff of Rome promulgates a crusade against the Pontiff of Avignon." The Papal schism had commenced in 1375, when Robert of Geneva, by the influence of France, was elected pope in opposition to Urban VI.: Robert took the name of Clement VII. France and Scotland were at first the only adherents of Clement. In the autumn and winter of 1382, however, Flanders had been invaded by the young King of France. Philip Van Artevelde had fallen at Roosebecque, and the country had been compelled to submit to Charles VI., who obliged all the conquered towns to recognise Clement VII. as Pope. Accordingly, the Bishop of Norwich directed his crusade against Flanders, as being then in effect French territory¹. "Public prayers are put up, by order of the Primate, (William Courtenay,) in every church of the realm, for the success of the expedition into Flanders. The bishops and the clergy are called on by the Archbishop to enforce

¹ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vi. 183.

² *Id.* vi. 184, (note).

³ A very full and interesting account of the crusade will be found in M. Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Histoire de Flandre*, vol. ii. (ed. 1858.)

on their flocks the duty of contribution to this sacred purpose. Money, jewels, property of all kinds, are lavishly brought in, or rigidly extorted; it is declared meritorious to fight for the faith, glorious to combat for the Lord. The same indulgences are granted as to crusaders in the Holy Land¹."

"But, after all, the issue of the expedition, at first successful, was in the end as shameful and disastrous as it was insulting to all sound religious feeling. The Crusaders took Gravelines; they took Dunkirk; and this army of the Pope, headed by a Christian bishop, in a war so-called religious, surpassed the ordinary inhumanity of the times. Men, women, and children were hewn to pieces in one vast massacre. After these first successes, the London apprentices, and the villains throughout the kingdom, were seized with a crusading ardour. They mounted white cloaks, with red crosses on their shoulders, red scabbards to their swords, and marched off defying their masters. Many religious, monks and friars, followed their example. The Crusaders had neither the pride nor consolation of permanent success. The army of Spenser returned as ingloriously as it had conducted itself atrociously. He had 60,000 men, besides auxiliaries from Ghent. Before Ypres he failed shamefully. At the first approach of the French army he withdrew to Gravelines, and was glad to buy a safe retreat by the surrender of the town²."

¹ Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 132. The form of absolution is thus given by Collier, (*Eccles. Hist.*, bk. vi. cent. 14.) from Knighton. "By apostolical authority committed to me for this purpose, I absolve thee, A. B., from all thy sins confessed, and for which thou art contrite; and from all those which thou wouldest confess, provided they occurred to thy memory. And, together with the full remission of thy sins, I grant thee the assurance of the reward of just persons in the life to come. I give thee, moreover, all the privileges of those who undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, and the benefit of the prayers of the Universal Church, either met in synods or elsewhere."

² Milman, *id.*

It need hardly be said that the crusade of Bishop Spenser was more an affair of policy than of religion, and that it was mainly the result of hostility between France and England. On the failure of the expedition, the young King, Richard II., in a frenzy of rage, ordered the temporalities of the see of Norwich to be seized, on pretence that the crusade had been countermanded by the King's writ when it was on the point of sailing, and that the Bishop had taken no notice of the writ. The temporalities were soon restored; but the Bishop, retaining his pugnacious disposition, kept up a constant quarrel with his monks, on various pretexts, until his death in 1406.

[A.D. 1407—1413.] ALEXANDER TOTTINGTON, Prior of the convent, whose election was opposed by the King, was at last consecrated, after the see had been vacant nearly two years.

[A.D. 1413—1415.] RICHARD COURTENAY, second son of Philip Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and Chancellor of Oxford: accompanied Henry V. on his expedition to France, and died at the siege of Harfleur. He was brought to Westminster Abbey for interment.

[A.D. 1416—1425.] JOHN WAKERING, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Keeper of the Privy Seal: was present at the Council of Constance.

[A.D. 1426, trans. to Lincoln 1436.] WILLIAM ALNWICK, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Archdeacon of Salisbury. His works in the cathedral have been noticed, Pt. I. §. III.

[A.D. 1436—1445.] THOMAS BROWN: was translated to Norwich from Rochester, during his absence at the Council of Basle. He stood firmly for the liberties of his Church against the citizens of Norwich.

[A.D. 1445—1472.] WALTER HART, or LE HART, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford: was sent by Henry VI., to Savoy, on a mission to the Antipope Felix, and had some share in inducing him to abdicate,—by which act the long papal schism was at last closed. Bishop Walter's work in the cathedral has been noticed, (Pt. I. § v.)

[A.D. 1472—1498.] JAMES GOLDWELL, Dean of Salisbury.

Little is recorded of him beyond his great work in the choir of his cathedral, noticed at Pt. I. §. x. His tomb, with effigy, remains on the south side of the choir: (Pt. I. § xi.)

[A.D. 1499—1500.] THOMAS JANE.

[A.D. 1501—1536.] RICHARD NYKKE, or NIX, "a person of very slender character," in Collier's words, succeeded; who, says Godwin, "in spite of his name, had little of snow in his breast." Bishop Nykke had been Archdeacon of Exeter and Canon of Windsor. He took the oath of supremacy, and, according to Fox, five persons suffered in his diocese on this account, and on the question of transubstantiation. Toward the end of his life Nykke became blind, and was said "to have offended the King (Hen. VIII.) signally by some correspondence with Rome, and was kept long in the Marshalsea, and convicted, and cast in a *præmunire*." "But this relation," says Collier, "goes only upon conjecture, and looks improbable, even from Nix's age and behaviour: for he was a very old man, and had been blind for many years; and as he could have no prospect of advantage from such a correspondence, so neither did he manage like one that would risk his fortune for any religion. . . . The true cause of his conviction and imprisonment was this: the town of Thetford, in Norfolk, made a presentment upon oath, before the King's judges, in proof of their liberties. . . The Bishop, taking this as a check upon his jurisdiction, cited Richard Cockerell, Mayor of Thetford, and some others, into his court, and enjoined them, under penalty of excommunication, to summon a jury of their town, and cancel the former presentment. For this the Bishop was prosecuted in the King's Bench, cast in a *præmunire*, and had judgment executed upon his person and estate, pursuant to the statute. This was done in the beginning of the year 1534. The King afterwards, upon his submission, discharged him out of

prison: however, he was not pardoned without a fine, with part of which it is said the glass windows of King's College Chapel in Cambridge were purchased*."

In his own cathedral Bishop Nykke constructed the existing roofs of the transept: (Pt. I. § XII.); and arranged his own chantry in the nave: (Pt. I. § VI.)

[A.D. 1536, resigned 1550.] WILLIAM RUGG, OR REPPS, Abbot of St. Bennet of Holm, which abbacy he retained with the bishopric. During the vacancy of the see "the King took into his own hands all the manors of the bishopric. For the seizing this large endowment there was nothing given in exchange but the Abbey of St. Bennet's in the Holm, the Priory of Hickling in Norfolk, and a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Stephen's, Westminster. This exchange was confirmed in Parliament*."

The Bishop of Norwich, in right of this exchange, is still titular Abbot of Holm.

Bishop Rugg alienated much of the diminished property of the see,—no doubt to his personal advantage; but on complaints made to the King (Edward VI.) he was compelled to resign the bishopric,—paying a fine of £900, and retaining a pension of £200 for life. The Norwich priory was finally suppressed after his accession, and the Dean and Chapter duly installed in its place.

[A.D. 1550, trans. to Ely 1554.] THOMAS THIRLBY, the first and last Bishop of Westminster. (See ELY.)

[A.D. 1554—1558.] JOHN HOPTON, Chaplain to Queen Mary: at whose death he is said to have died of grief. Many Protestants suffered in his diocese during his episcopate.

[A.D. 1560—1575.] JOHN PARKHURST, born at Guildford in Surrey; the tutor of Bishop Jewell, and an exile with him. He is said to have "repaired and beautified" his palace at Norwich, where he died. His tomb, without the brasses, remains in the nave: (Pt. I. § VI.)

* Eccles. Hist., Pt. II. bk. II.

* Id.

[A.D. 1575, translated to Worcester 1584.] EDMUND FREEK; translated to Norwich from Rochester.

[A.D. 1585—1594.] EDMUND SCAMBLER, translated from Peterborough. Bishop Scambler alienated much at Peterborough, (see that Cathedral, Pt. II.); and did the same at Norwich. His monument was destroyed by the Puritans.

[A.D. 1594—1602.] WILLIAM REDMAN, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1602—1617.] JOHN JEGON, Master of Bene't College, Cambridge.

[A.D. 1618—1619.] JOHN OVERALL, translated from Lichfield; "a discreet presser of conformity in his diocese," says Fuller; and one of the most learned of English controversialists. He had the character, according to Antony Wood, of being the "best scholastic divine in the English nation." He was the correspondent of Grotius and Gerard Vossius; but is best known in England by his so-called "Convocation Book," written, says Bishop Burnet, "on the subject of Government, the divine institution of which was very positively asserted." The treatise, which consists partly of canons and partly of introductory and explanatory dissertations on the matter of the canons, was duly sanctioned in the Convocation of 1610; but it "did not see the light till many years after it was composed, when it was published by Archbishop Sancroft, to justify the principles of the Nonjuring party. It was, however, a strange oversight in Sancroft's party to publish the book, as there are several canons in it which clearly lay down that a *de facto* government is, when completely established, to be held in the light of a *de jure* government; and it was upon the very grounds set forth in this book that Dr. Sherlock took the oaths to King William^b."

The composition of the latter part of the Catechism (containing an explanation of the Sacraments) is generally

^b Perry's History of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 178.

attributed to Bishop Overall. "It was added (in 1604) by royal authority, 'by way of explanation,' in compliance with the wish which the Puritans had expressed at the Conference at Hampton Court; and with two emendations was afterwards confirmed by Convocation and Parliament in 1661*."

The monument for Bishop Overall, erected by his secretary, Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, has been already noticed: (Pt. I. § xi.) In the inscription he is declared to be "*Vir undequaque doctissimus, et omni encomio major.*"

[A.D. 1619, translated to York 1628.] SAMUEL HARSNET.

[A.D. 1628, translated to Ely 1631.] FRANCIS WHITE.

[A.D. 1632—1635.] RICHARD CORBET, born at Ewell in Surrey, was translated to Norwich from Oxford. Corbet was a distinguished wit; and although one of the bishops who carried out the Laudian discipline with a high hand, was scarcely himself an example of religious living. He could not restrain his facetiousness even on the most solemn occasions. "One time, as he was confirming," says Aubrey^d, "the country people pressing in to see the ceremony, said he, 'Bear off there, or I'll confirm ye with my staff.' Another time, being to lay his hand on the head of a man very bald, he turns to his chaplain, and said, 'Some dust, Lushington,'—to keep his hand from slipping. The Bishop sometimes would take the key of the wine-cellar, and he and his chaplain would go and lock themselves in and be merry. Then, first he lays down his episcopal hat—'There lies the Doctor.' Then he puts off his gown—'There lies the Bishop.' Then 'twas, 'There's to thee, Corbet,' and 'Here's to thee, Lushington.'"

A more favourable character is given of Bishop Corbet by Fuller, who calls him "an high wit and most excellent

* Procter on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 391.

^d Lives, ii. 293, quoted in Perry's History of the Church of England.

poet, of a courteous carriage, and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plentifully repaired with a jest upon him*." His poems, which are noticeable as illustrations of the period, were published after his death, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, 1648.

[A.D. 1635, translated to Ely 1638.] MATTHEW WREN. (See ELY CATHEDRAL, Part II.)

[A.D. 1638—1641.] RICHARD MONTAGUE, translated from Chichester. For a sketch of Bishop Montague's life, which, happily for himself, ended before the breaking out of the Civil War, see CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL, Part II.

[A.D. 1641—died 1656.] JOSEPH HALL, translated to Norwich from Exeter. A short life of this excellent bishop will be found in EXETER CATHEDRAL, Part II. To the notices there quoted may be added "the eloquent tribute of the venerable Bishop Morton to the merits of his friend: 'God's visible, eminent, and resplendent graces of illumination, zeal, piety, and eloquence, have made him truly honourable and glorious in the Church of Christ'."

In December, 1641, Bishop Hall, with the Archbishop of York and eleven other prelates, was committed to the Tower for protesting against the validity of laws passed during the enforced absence of bishops from Parliament. He was soon afterwards released on giving security for five thousand pounds, and returned to Norwich, where he remained unmolested until April, 1643. His property was then sequestered as that of a "notorious delinquent." He was expelled from his palace, and treated with all possible insult, till he withdrew to the village of Heigham, where he was permitted to remain in comparative security until his death, in 1656. The present "Dolphin Inn" at Heigham—a house with the date 1615 on its front—was the residence of Bishop Hall; who was buried in the ad-

* Worthies—Surrey.

* Quoted in Perry's History of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 629.

joining church. His monument, with a "cadaver," an emblem then greatly affected, still remains.

In his "Hard Measure" Bishop Hall has given the story of his sufferings; and from it the following picture of the desecration of the cathedral is extracted:—"It is tragical to relate the furious sacrilege committed under the authority of Linsey, Tofts the sheriff, and Greenwood: what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing down of monuments, what pulling down of seats, and wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves; what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world but of the cost of the founder and skill of the mason; what piping on the destroyed organ-pipes; vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawed down from over the greenyard pulpit, and the singing-books and service-books, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany. The ordnance being discharged on the guild-day, the cathedral was filled with musketeers, drinking and tobacco-smoking as freely as if it had turned ale-house."

[A.D. 1661—1676.] EDWARD REYNOLDS, who had joined the Presbyterian party during the Civil War; afterwards became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Norwich. He was accused of deserting his party for preferment: but Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*) gives him a high character; and his works have been often reprinted. He was interred in the chapel of his palace at Norwich.

[A.D. 1676—1685.] ANTONY SPARROW, was translated from Exeter. Bishop Sparrow, the well-known author of the "Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer," was born at Depden, in Suffolk. At Norwich, according to Blome-

field, he obtained the "praise and commendation of all men." Little is recorded of his public life, either here or at Exeter.

[A.D. 1685, deposed 1691.] WILLIAM LLOYD, had been successively Bishop of Llandaff and Peterborough. He was deposed as a Nonjuror, and lived at Hammersmith until his death in 1710.

[A.D. 1691, translated to Ely 1707.] JOHN MOORE.

[A.D. 1708, translated to Winchester 1721.] CHARLES TRIMKELL.

[A.D. 1721, translated to Ely 1723.] THOMAS GREEN.

[A.D. 1723—1727.] JOHN LENG.

[A.D. 1727—1732.] WILLIAM BAKER, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1733, translated to Ely 1738.] ROBERT BUTTS.

[A.D. 1738, translated to Ely 1748.] SIR THOMAS GOOCH, translated to Norwich from Bristol.

[A.D. 1748—1749.] SAMUEL LISLE, translated from St. Asaph.

[A.D. 1749, translated to London 1761.] THOMAS HAYTER, Preceptor to George III.

[A.D. 1761—1783.] PHILIP YOUNG, translated from Bristol.

[A.D. 1783, translated to St. Asaph 1790.] LEWIS BAGOT, translated from Bristol.

[A.D. 1790—1792.] GEORGE HORNE, author of "Letters on Infidelity."

[A.D. 1792, translated to Canterbury 1805.] CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON.

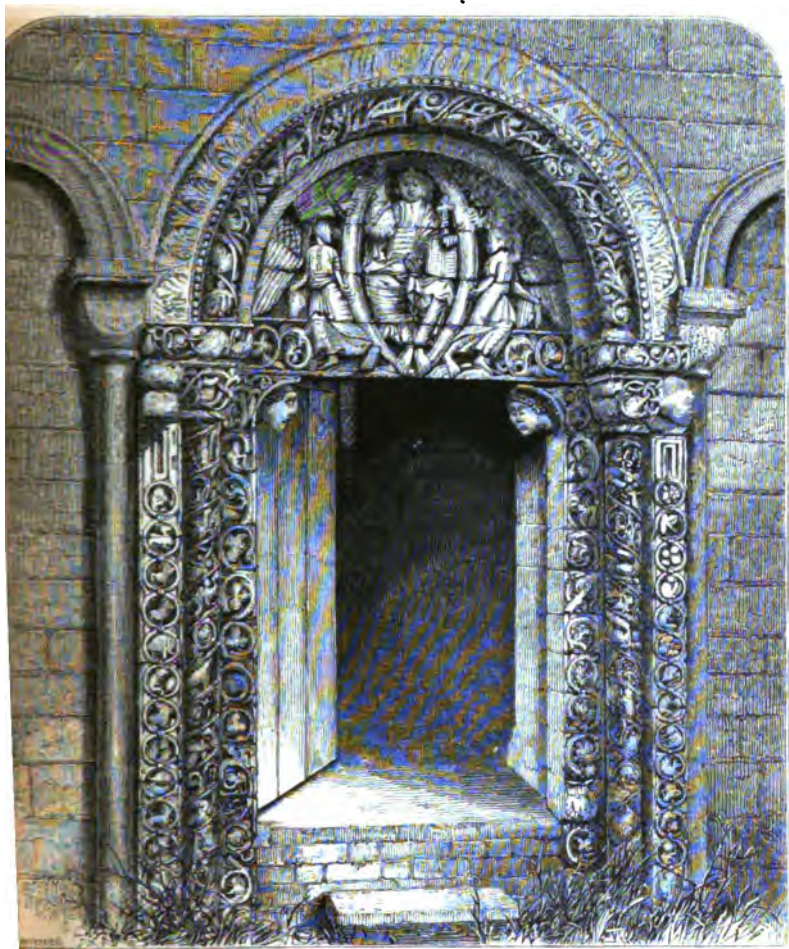
[A.D. 1805—1837.] HENRY BATHURST.

[A.D. 1837—1849.] EDWARD STANLEY. A Memoir of Bishop Stanley has been published by his son, A. P. Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford.

[A.D. 1849, resigned 1857.] SAMUEL HINDS.

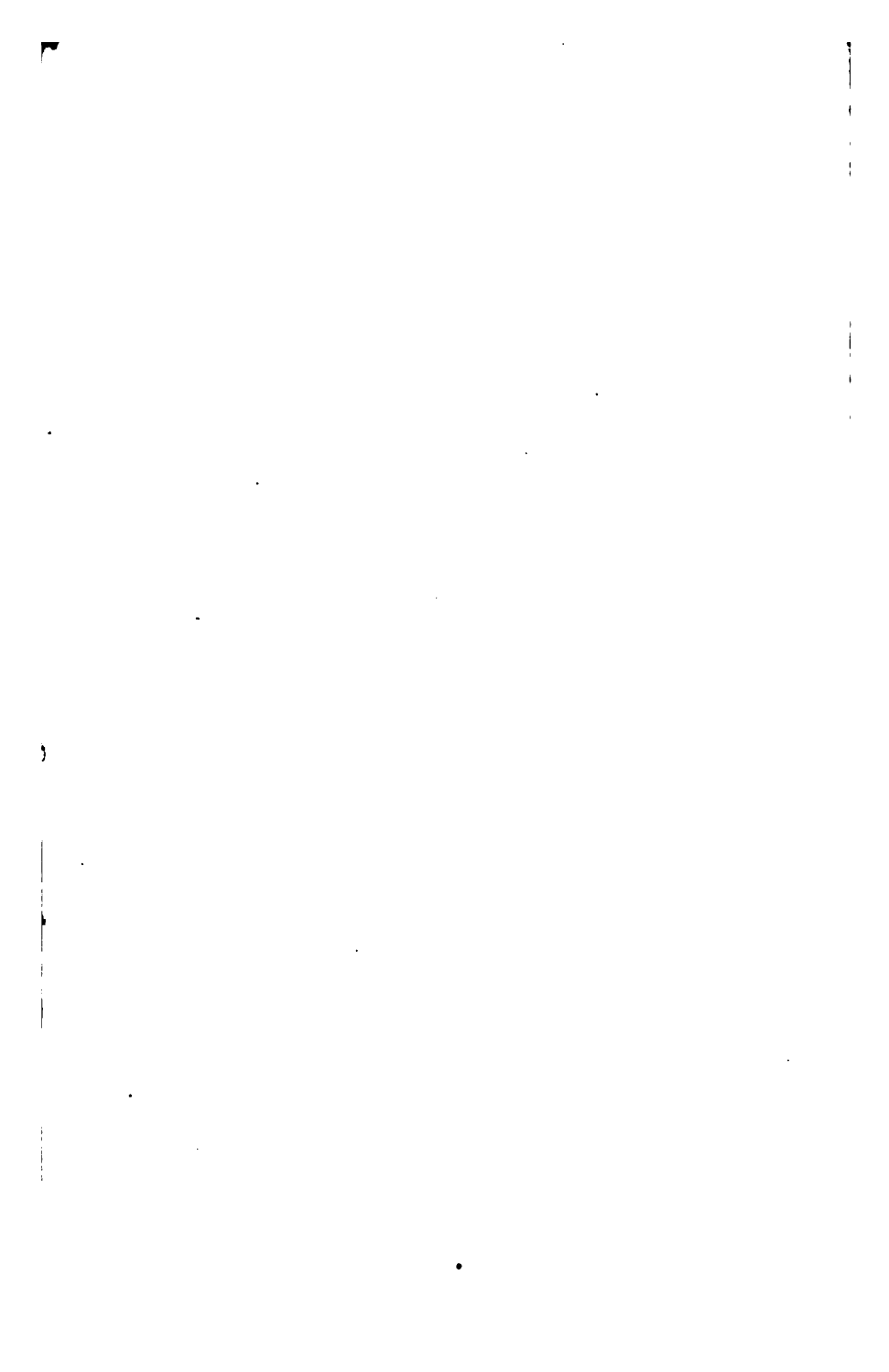
[A.D. 1857.] JOHN THOMAS PELHAM.

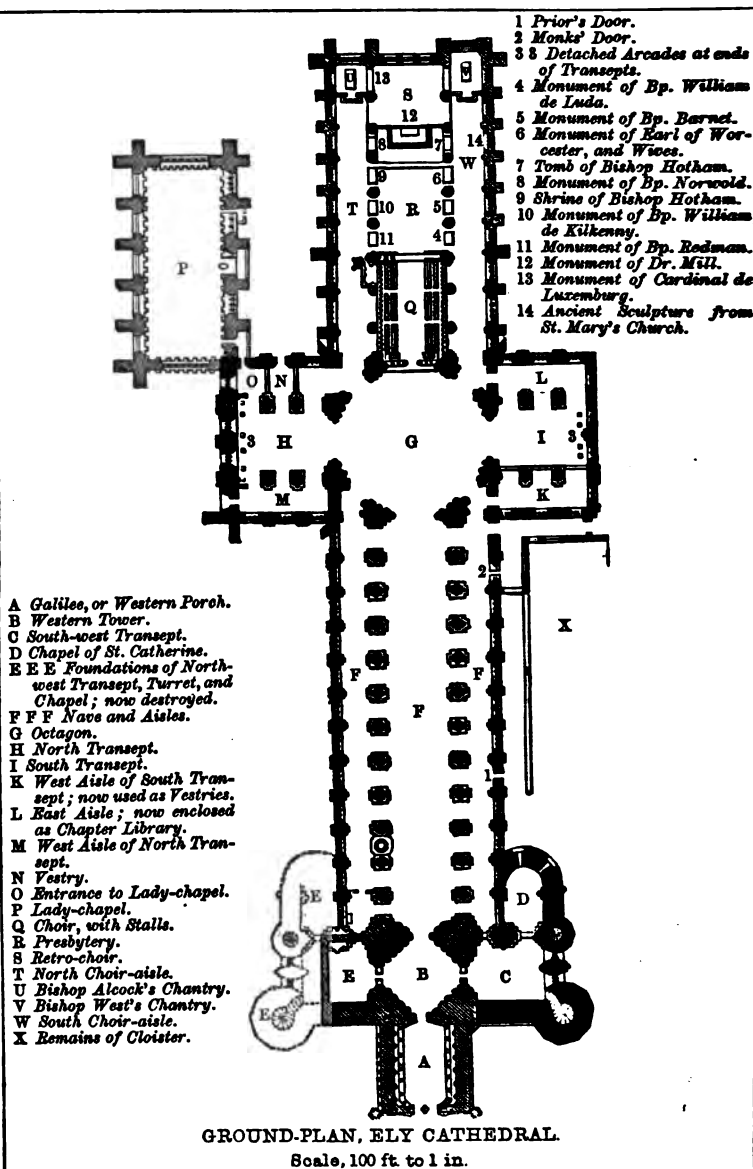
ELY CATHEDRAL.



PRIOR'S DOOR.









DISTANT VIEW, FROM A BRIDGE ON THE RAILWAY.

ELY CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE foundations of the existing cathedral of Ely were laid by SIMEON, the first Norman abbot (1082—1094) of the great Benedictine monastery established about the year 970 by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, on the site of the convent of St. Etheldreda, which had been destroyed by the Northmen. (See Pt. II.) Simeon, who was of noble birth, and related to the Conqueror, was the brother of Walkelin, first Norman bishop of Winchester, who also rebuilt his cathedral.

The church thus commenced by Simeon was so far completed by his successor, Abbot RICHARD, (1100—1107,) that he was able to translate into it from the Saxon church the body of St. Etheldreda, the great patroness of the monastery; to whom, conjointly with St. Peter, the building was dedicated*. No further record exists of

* "Ecclesiam suam a prædecessore suo inceptam ædificavit."
—*Thomas Eliensis, Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 613. This may either mean that he completed the church, (which was subsequently enlarged and altered); or—which is more probable—that he only completed the choir and transepts. It is certain that the nave is of much later date than the time of Abbot Richard.

the progress of the work until Bishop GEOFFREY RIDDELL (1174—1189) is mentioned as having “completed the new work to its western end, (*usque occidentem*,) together with the tower nearly to the summit.” Bishop EUSTACE (1198—1215) built the *Galilee*, or *western porch*. Bishop HUGH DE NORWOLD (1229—1254) pulled down the Norman choir, and rebuilt it in seventeen years, from 1235 to 1252. In the year 1322, during the episcopate of JOHN HOTHAM, (1316—1337,) Abbot Simeon’s central tower fell; as his brother Walkelin’s at Winchester had fallen in 1107. The *octagon*, by which the tower was replaced, was commenced in the same year, (1322,) and completed in 1328: the *lantern* above it, begun in 1328, was finished in 1342. The *western* portion of Bishop Hugh’s *choir*, which had been ruined by the fall of the tower, was rebuilt, chiefly at the expense of Bishop Hotham, who, at his death, left money for the purpose. The work was commenced in 1338. The *Lady-chapel*, the erection of which was mainly due to JOHN OF WISBEACH, a brother of the monastery, was commenced in 1321, and completed in 1349. *Chantries* at the eastern ends of the choir-aisles were built by Bishop ALCOCK (1486—1500) and Bishop WEST, (1515—1553).

From these dates it will be seen that the cathedral contains examples of the different periods of Gothic architecture, from early Norman to late Perpendicular. The chroniclers of the abbey have recorded the exact date of nearly every portion of the building; which thus acquires the highest possible value and interest for

the student of architecture. Nor are the examples which it affords anywhere exceeded in beauty or importance. The Galilee and eastern portion of the choir take rank among the very best works of the Early English period; whilst the octagon, the western choir, and the Lady-chapel are probably the finest examples of pure Decorated to be found in England. It should also be mentioned here, that the restoration of the cathedral, commenced by the late Dean PEACOCK, and already far advanced, will, when completed, be one of the most perfect and elaborate that has anywhere been attempted. The whole is under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott.

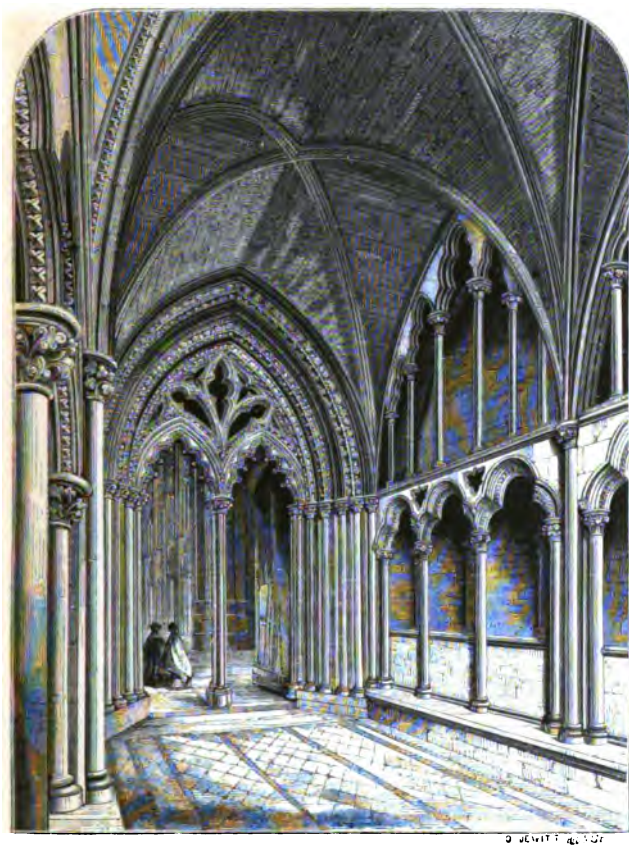
The church is built throughout of stone from Barnack in Northamptonshire. Purbeck marble is used extensively for interior shafts and capitals; and some of the interior mouldings and ornaments are worked in a soft white stone called "clunch," found in the neighbourhood of Ely.

II. Ely Cathedral, which measures 565 feet from the exterior of the west porch to the exterior eastern buttresses, is the longest Gothic church not only in England but in Europe; although others (as for example the cathedral of Milan) cover much more ground. Owing probably to its situation, no very important town ever rose up about the monastery. The houses which line the streets are unusually small and low; and the long ridge of the cathedral roofs with their towers and pinnacles lifts itself above them on every side. Other English cathedrals form only part of the cities in

which they stand: here the cathedral is in fact the town; and nowhere else perhaps in England is there so complete and suggestive a picture of what a great monastery—such as Glastonbury or Melrose—must have resembled whilst its buildings were yet entire, and its church formed a landmark for all the surrounding district.

III. Leaving the exterior and the best general points of view (§ xxxv.) for the present, we enter the cathedral by the *Galilee*, or *western porch*, [Plate I.], the recorded work of Bishop Eustace, (1198—1215). The main arch of entrance circumscribes two smaller ones, which spring from a central group of shafts. These subordinate arches are foliated. The space between them and the enclosing arch is filled with tracery. Above the entrance is a triplet window. The angles are supported by groups of clustered shafts, which terminate above the roof in slender turrets. The sides of the porch, north and south, are lined by four tiers of arcades, the two uppermost of which have foliated arches.

Within, the porch, which is 40 feet in length, consists of two bays, simply vaulted. The wall of each bay is divided into two stories by blind arcades, very gracefully disposed. Remark especially the excellent effect given to the lower arcade by its divisions of outer and inner arches, and by the manner in which the lines of the front shafts, which reach nearly to the ground, intersect the vaulting of the arcade against the wall behind them. The outer arches are enriched with the dog-tooth moulding. The arch, through which the cathedral is



THE GALILEE PORCH.

entered, is divided, like the arch of entrance to the porch, into two, by central shafts. The rich exterior mouldings and the leafage on the capitals of the shafts should all be noticed.

The name *Galilee*, 'Galilee,' is expressly applied to this western porch by the chroniclers of Ely. It is used elsewhere, as at Lincoln and Durham, to denote similar additions, of somewhat less sacred character than the rest of the building; no doubt in allusion to "Galilee of the Gentiles." The Galilee at Durham forms a large chapel at the west end of the nave, and was appropriated to the use of women, who were not permitted to advance into the actual church of the stern St. Cuthbert. The Galilees at Ely and at Lincoln may have been used for purposes of instruction, and occasionally as courts of law.

IV. Entering the cathedral, the visitor finds himself within the great west tower, through the eastern arch of which a superb view is commanded, up the nave, [Plate II.], beyond the arches and graceful tracery of the lantern, and beyond the rich screen, to the coloured roof of the choir and the stained glass of the distant eastern windows. When the painting of the nave roof, which is now (1861) in progress, shall have been completed, the view from this point will only be exceeded in interest by that (§ XI.) from the south-west angle of the octagon.

The tower, originally the work of Bishop GEOFFREY RIDDELL, (1174—1189^b), was much altered and strengthened

^b The extent of Bishop Riddell's work is uncertain. "Novum opus usque occidentem cum turre usque ad cumulum fere per-

ened during the Perpendicular period; when the transition Norman arches were contracted by those which now exist. The zigzag moulding above marks the extent of the original arches. The work, after the erection of the upper or Decorated story of the tower, (see § xxxi.,) had probably shewn signs of weakness; and the fall of the central tower in the preceding century no doubt led the monks to apply a remedy to this one in due time. Two tiers of arcaded galleries, the arches of which have trefoil headings, but are massive and Norman in character, run round above the pier-arches; and above, again, are three pointed windows in each side. On the west side, the lower arcade is pierced for light as well as the upper. The window over the entrance, filled with stained glass, is modern, and was inserted early in the present century.

The interior of the tower has been restored since 1845; when a floor above the lower arches was removed, and the present painted roof inserted. This was designed and executed by H. L. Styleman le Strange, Esq., of Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk.

The style of decoration is that which prevailed in England about the close of the twelfth century, when this part of the tower was completed. The subject, placed appropriately at the entrance to the church,

fecit."—*Monach. Eliensis, ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 631. The "novum opus" may possibly refer to the nave as well as the west transept. The upper portions of the tower and transepts are Early English, and probably the work of Bishop Riddell's successor, William Longchamp, (1189—1198).

is the Creation of the Universe. Stems and branches of foliage embrace and sustain five circles placed cross-wise. In the upper circle toward the east, is depicted the *Dextra Domini*, the "Right Hand of the Lord," as the emblem of the Almighty Father. The central circle contains our Saviour in an aureole, in the act of exercising creative power. In his left hand He holds the globe of the world; and He is surrounded by the sun, moon, and stars. About Him is written the text, "I am before all things, and by Me all things exist." In the circle beneath is the Holy Dove, brooding over the waters of the newly created earth. Rays of light proceed from the *Dextra Domini* in a threefold manner, and embrace within their influence the other two persons of the Godhead. In the other circles are figures of cherubim and seraphim holding scrolls, on which are the words, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." Round the whole is the text from Revelations, ch. iv. 11,— "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created."

It was while this work was in progress in 1845 that Mr. Basevi, the architect of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, fell from the upper roof, and was killed on the spot. He was buried in the north choir-aisle, where a brass commemorates him.

V. Bishop Riddell's original plan embraced a *western transept* opening from the tower, and flanked by octagonal turrets at the angles. The north-west transept

fell, (at what time is uncertain,) and remains in a ruined condition; having not impossibly been weakened, either from the erection of the upper story of the tower, or from the subsequent insertion of the Perpendicular arches. The *south-west* transept has been restored. Bishop Riddell's work extends apparently as high as the clerestory; where the transition Norman arches and arcades are replaced by Early English. The upper portions of the west tower and of the transepts were possibly built during the episcopate of Bishop Riddell's successor, WILLIAM LONGCHAMP, (1189—1197). The lower stories of the south and west sides are covered with blind arcades, of which that in the centre has interlaced arches. On the east side are two circular arches, much enriched with zigzag; one of which opens to the nave-aisle, the other to the *chapel of St. Catherine*, which, long in ruins, has lately been rebuilt, and is now used as the baptistery-chapel. This is semi-circular, and of two bays. The walls are lined with a double arcade. The stained glass of the windows is by Wilmshurst; the Baptism of our Lord after a picture by Bassano, the Saviour with little children from a well-known Overbeck. The deep colours of the Bassano have a striking effect, although the design is scarcely in keeping with the massive architecture of the chapel.

The floors of transept and chapel have been laid with alternating squares of stone and Purbeck marble, and the border of that of the chapel has been further enriched by an incised pattern filled with coloured ce-



THE NAVE.

ment. A modern font, of Norman character, with the evangelistic emblems on the sides, has been placed in the transept, in line with the centre of St. Catherine's Chapel. The ceiling of the transept is to be coloured in square panels.

VI. The *nave*, which we now enter, is throughout late Norman; and may be compared with the neighbouring Norman nave of Peterborough, which must have been in building at the same time. The nave of Ely must probably have been completed before 1174, the date of the accession of Bishop Riddell. The work is plain throughout, and differs in this respect from Peterborough; but the height of the arches, which are slightly stilted, as well as the slender shafts of the triforium and clerestory, sufficiently indicate its late character. It consists of twelve bays, alternating in design, as at Norwich; the early Norman nave of which cathedral should be compared with the late Norman of Ely and Peterborough. The arrangement of the piers at Norwich is much simpler and ruder than at Ely; where the semi-attached shafts of the more complex piers already approach the transition. The arches are recessed in three orders of plain mouldings. In the *triforium* above, a wide and lofty circular arch, of precisely the same character and nearly the same height as that immediately below it, comprises two smaller arches, carried by a central shaft. The triforium extends over the aisles, the walls of which have been raised, and Perpendicular windows inserted. The *clerestory* in each bay is formed by an arcade of three semi-

circular arches, that in the centre being a little higher than the other two. At the back is a round-headed window. A stringcourse with the billet-moulding passes along at the base of the triforium, and a plain roll above and below the clerestory. Vaulting-shafts in groups of three rise between each bay on the south side: on the north side, a single circular shaft is set on a square pilaster. The stringcourses band these shafts.

The dimensions of this nave, (which are exceeded by those of Peterborough; see that cathedral,) are—*length*, 203 feet; *breadth*, (with aisles,) 75 feet 6 inches; *height*, 72 feet.

VII. The *roof* of the nave as originally constructed was probably finished internally with a horizontal ceiling stretched across from wall to wall, as is the case at Peterborough and St. Alban's. This was the most usual mode in Norman times, where no stone vault existed. The external form, as well as that of the transept roofs, appears, from the weatherings still existing, to have been truncated. In consequence, however, of the deviation from the original plans made by Alan de Walsingham when he erected the central lantern, it became necessary to re-construct the roof over this portion of the building; and the result was the high-pitched form which exists at the present day, internally braced with a series of interlacing timbers in such a manner as to form an irregular polygonal roof sufficiently high to surmount the newly inserted lantern-arch. This roof seems to have re-

ceived no kind of finish until, after the painting of the tower ceiling, it was determined to extend the decoration to that of the nave, the roof of which was accordingly coated internally with boards. The paintings on the tower roof and on that of the six westernmost bays of the nave are the work of Mr. Le Strange, of Hunstanton, in Norfolk, who had spared no labour in the examination of manuscript authorities for Norman ornamentation, and of existing remains of Norman painting in English and foreign churches. At his death in July of this year, (1862,) the paintings of the remaining half of the nave have been committed to Mr. Gambier Parry, of Highnam, in Gloucestershire, who is now occupied upon them. The general design of Mr. Le Strange's work was cast upon the model of the Jesse tree, which was itself to be incorporated into the work as the latter part of the history. But as the painting advanced, the introduction of large sacred subjects seemed far more desirable on so enormous a surface; and the change has accordingly been made, in accordance with Mr. Le Strange's own judgment.

The subjects of these paintings are the principal incidents of reference to our Lord, from the creation of man by "the Word of God" to His final coming in glory.

The six subjects completed by Mr. Le Strange, beginning at the west end of the nave, are in the

1st bay. Creation of Adam.

2nd. The Fall of Man.

3rd. The Sacrifice of Noah.

4th. Abraham and Isaac;—"God will provide Himself a Lamb."

5th. The Vision of Jacob's Ladder.

6th. The Marriage of Boaz and Ruth, from whom springs Obed the father of Jesse.

Twenty-four prophets and worthies, supporting as it were this central line, are arranged along the entire length of the roof, two in each bay, holding scrolls inscribed with their respective prophecies of the coming of our Lord. They are as follows :—

1st bay. Abraham and Jacob.

2nd. Job and Balaam.

3rd. Moses and Nathan.

4th. Jonah and Joel.

5th. Amos and Hosea.

6th. Isaiah and Micah.

In the remaining six bays the series of sacred subjects, and large figures supporting them, are proposed to be—

7th bay. Jesse; represented in the ancient manner, as lying asleep;—"There shall come forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots."

8th. David.

9th. The Annunciation.

10th. The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem;—"Hosanna to the Son of David."

11th. The Tomb, with the angel clothed in white sitting at the foot of it.

12th. The Majesty;—"The Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him." Matt. xxv. 31.

These subjects, like those painted by Mr. Le Strange, will be supported by Prophets and Evangelists, and the figures of the persons of our Lord's genealogy.

Along either side of the ceiling is a line of busts, exhibiting the generations of our Lord up to Adam, according to the Gospel of St. Luke. The series begins with the great figure of our Lord, round which is the inscription, "Being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph." Thence it runs back to the western end of the ceiling, each bust being inscribed with the name, until it arrives at "the son of Adam," where it connects itself with the central medallion of the first bay, round which is inscribed, "Which was the Son of God."

The evangelistic symbols are placed two at either end of the ceiling. They were prefigured by the prophet Ezekiel, and are here introduced in order to exhibit the unison of the old dispensation with that which was to follow. The date of the commencement of the painting, in 1858, is shewn at the western end by the arms of the then bishop and dean. The year of its completion will be marked by a similar record at the eastern end.

In the present state of the cathedral the ceiling suffers much from the quantity of raw light which streams through the clerestory windows, and from the coldness produced by the uncoloured state of the walls and arches. It has been determined, however, to proceed with the colouring of the walls as soon as possible : and other improvements will no doubt follow.

VIII. The vaulting of the *nave-aisles* is carried, as at Norwich and Peterborough, from wall-shafts between the windows, and semicircular shafts at the back of the piers. A wall arcade runs below the windows of both

aisles. In the *south aisle*, the door in the fifth bay (counting from the west) marks the termination of the cloisters; and the wall arcade west of this door is lower than that east of it. The door itself was the prior's entrance, and is much enriched on the exterior: (see § xxxii.) At the eastern end of this aisle is the monks' entrance: (see § xxxii.) The view from this point down the aisle into the west transept, the wall arcades of which are alone visible, is a singular one.

The *windows* of the north aisle are Perpendicular insertions. Those in the south aisle have nearly all been restored to their original Norman form. Nearly all the windows in both aisles are filled with modern stained glass, by different artists, and of various degrees of merit. In the *south aisle*, beginning at the west end, the subjects and artists are as follows:—

1. The Creation. The Expulsion from Eden. The Offerings of Cain and Abel. (HENRI and ALFRED GERENTE.)
2. The Ark. The Flood. Noah's Sacrifice. (ALFRED GERENTE.)
3. The Annunciation. The Salutation. The Nativity. (WARINGTON.)
4. Babel and the Confusion of Tongues. (HOWES.)
5. Abraham with the Angels. Expulsion of Hagar. Blessing of Jacob. (GIBBS.)
6. Passover. Death of the First-born. Departure of Israelites. (HOWES.)
7. Fall of Jericho. Passage of Jordan. Return of Spies. (WAILLES.)
8. The Story of Samson. (ALFRED GERENTE.)
9. The Story of the Venerable Bede. (WAILLES.)

10. David Anointed; playing before Saul; chosen King; and reproved by Nathan. (HARDMAN.)
11. Judgment of Solomon. Building and Dedication of the Temple. Visit of the Queen of Sheba. (MOORE.)

In the *north aisle* the subjects are :—

1. Adam Tilling the Ground. Cain Ploughing. Abel with Sheep. Adam and Eve discovering the body of Abel. (COTTINGHAM.)
2. The History of Lot. (FREEDY.)
3. Gideon. The Flight of the Midianites. (WARD.)
4. The History of Samuel. (WARD and NIXON.)
5. David and the Minstrels. (OLIPHANT, from designs by DYCE, R.A.)
6. History of Elijah. (WAILES.)
7. History of Daniel. (LUSSON of Paris.)

Of these windows, many were the gifts of the artists, and others were designed as memorials for different persons connected with the cathedral.

IX. The last bay of the north aisle toward the west has been enclosed, apparently as a chapel; a pointed arch of Early English character having been built within the original Norman arch of the nave. At the west end, within a grating, is a pedestal supporting the fragment of a stone cross, which in all probability is a relic of the age of St. Etheldreda. It long served as a horse-block at Haddenham, in the Isle of Ely; and was removed to its present position by the care of Mr. Bentham, the historian of the monastery. On the pedestal is the inscription, in Roman capitals, "Lucem tuam Ovino da Deus, et requiem. Amen." "Ovini,"

or "Wini," was, as Bede tells us^c, the name of the steward and principal "house-thegn" of Etheldreda; whom he had accompanied from East Anglia about the year 652, on her first marriage with Tondberct, chief of the South Gyrvians. [See Pt. II.] Winford, a manor near Haddenham, may not impossibly retain the name of Wini; who embraced the monastic life under St. Chad at Lichfield^d. The cross may perhaps have been erected by Wini himself, on land granted him by Etheldreda, or by Tondberct. At any rate, the almost pure Roman lettering may very well be of his time.

X. The great or principal *transepts* are the only portions of the church which contain any remains of the original Norman work of Abbot Simeon and his successor. Both transepts, which are three bays deep, have east and west aisles; and the lower story in both is early Norman, (1082—1107). The arches of this story differ from those of the nave in having plain, square-edged soffetes, without mouldings. In the *north transept*, the capitals of the piers on the east side are somewhat more enriched than those opposite. The bays in this eastern aisle have been divided by walls into separate chapels, which now serve as vestries. On the walls of the central chapel considerable remains of Norman painting may still be seen. At the north-east angle is the entrance to the Lady-chapel: (see § xxxix.)

^c Hist. Eccles., lib. iv. c. 3.

^d The music of the angels, who came to warn St. Chad of his approaching death, was heard only by Wini. See the very curious narrative in Bede, H. E. iv. 3.

The triforium and clerestory on the east and west sides are late Norman, and precisely resemble those of the nave.

The north and south ends of the two transepts differ. Both have an arcade of circular arches, slightly projecting from the wall, and forming a kind of gallery or terminal aisle, which resembles, though on a different scale, the north and south aisles of the Winchester transepts,—the work of Bishop Walkelin, brother of Simeon. In the *north transept* this arcade is surmounted by two round-headed windows, and above, again, by two of Perpendicular character. In the *south transept* the arcade is more regular and open; and the wall above it is lined with a blank arcade of intersecting arches. Above, again, are two ranges of round-headed windows, and at the top a late Perpendicular window, of seven lights.

Both aisles of the *south transept* are enclosed. The arches of the east aisle are entirely walled up, and it now serves as the Chapter Library: (see § xxviii.) On these arches the Norman scroll-work has been restored in modern colours. The west aisle, which serves as a vestry, is divided half-way up by a low wall lined with an intersecting Norman arcade, in which is a carved oak door, brought originally from Landbeach, with devices resembling those in Bishop Alcock's chapel. (§ xxiv.) The Norman colouring has been restored to the vault in this aisle with good effect.

The transept *roofs* are of wood, and somewhat plain examples of the hammer-beam. The projecting brackets have figures of angels with opened wings. The whole

of the roofs have been re-painted ;—the angel-brackets, the main beams, and the bosses, in red, gold, and green ; the boarding of the roof itself in a very effective pattern of black and white.

The whole of the *windows* at the north and south ends of the transepts, as well as those in the west aisle of the north transept, have been filled with stained glass. The designs and artists are as follows :—

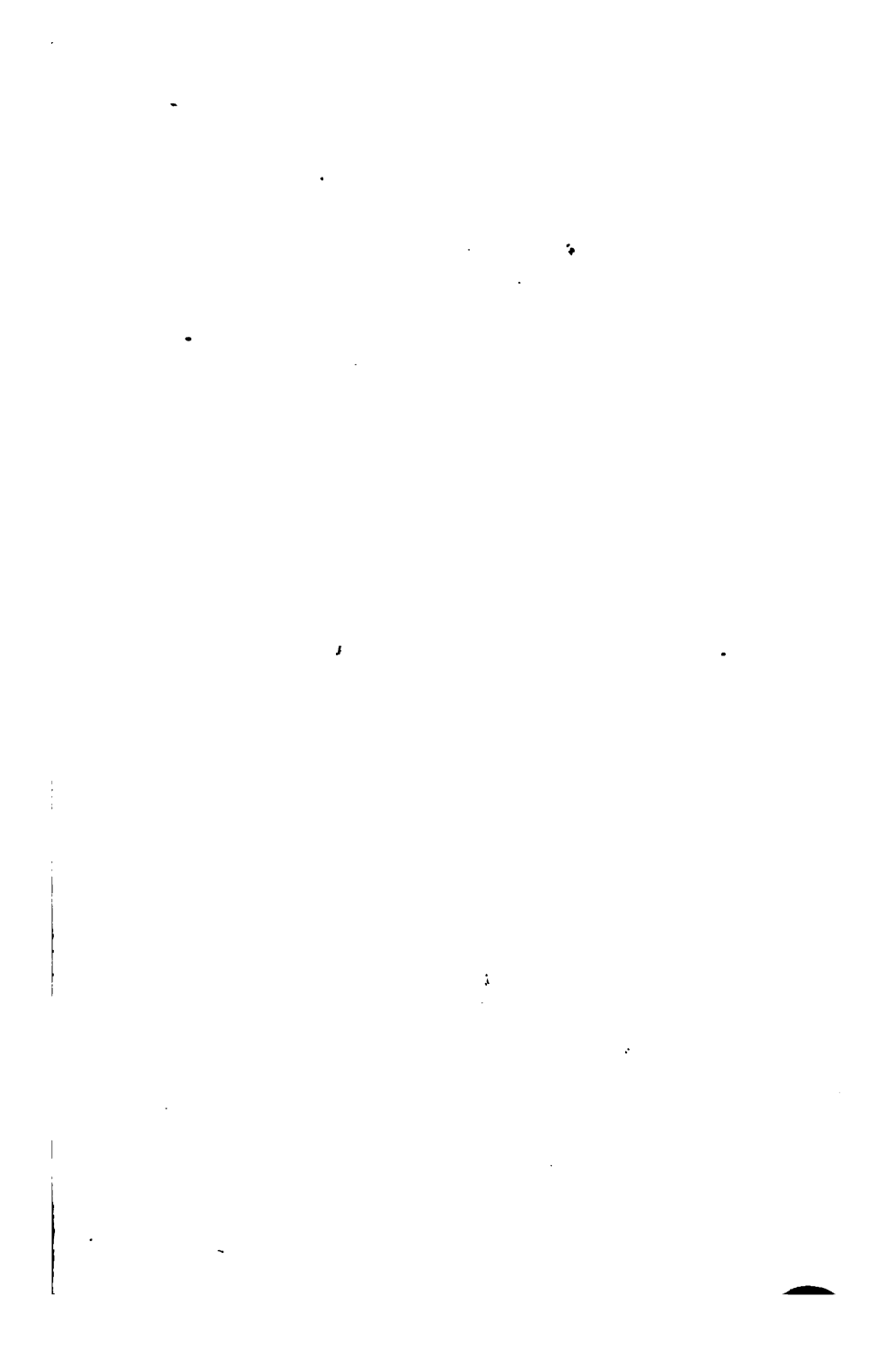
In the *north transept* (north end) the designs are from the History of St. Paul. The windows are by WAILES, except the east window of the second tier, which is by the Rev. A. MOORE.

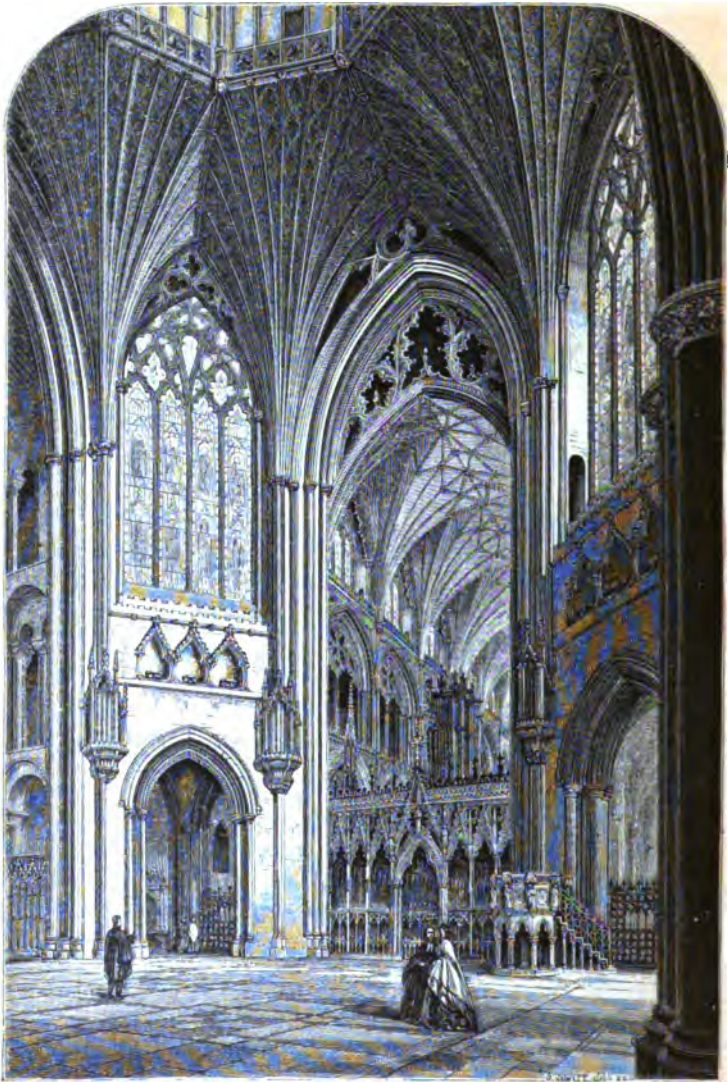
In the *west aisle* of the same transept, the north window, the subject of which is the Prodigal Son, is by the Rev. A. MOORE ; the central, representing the Good Samaritan, by M. LUSSON ; the south, in which different parables of our Lord are displayed, is a memorial window for the Rev. A. MOORE, by M. LUSSON.

In the *south transept*, the windows of the lower tier, representing the Histories of Joseph and of Moses, are by HENRI GERENTE.

The east window in the second tier, representing the History of Abraham, is by HENRI and ALFRED GERENTE ; the west window, containing the History of Jacob, by ALFRED GERENTE. The Perpendicular window above displays six figures of the Patriarchs, with our Lord in the centre, by HOWE, from designs by PREEDY.

The middle window of the *west aisle* has been filled with a subject from the book of Jeremiah, by M. LUSSON.





THE OCTAGON FROM THE SOUTH-WEST AISLE.

XI. We have been describing the cathedral in due order; but the attention of the visitor will from the first have been withdrawn with difficulty from the central *octagon*, [Plate III.],—"perhaps the most beautiful and original design to be found in the whole range of Gothic architecture." The first impression here is almost bewildering, so great is the mass of details pressing for notice, so varied and unusual the many lines and levels of piers, windows, and roofs, all glowing with colour, and intersected with the most graceful and delicate tracery. There is perhaps no architectural view in Europe more striking—when seen under a good effect of light, on which all such views so greatly depend—than that across the octagon of Ely from the angle of the nave-aisles.

The Norman tower erected by Abbot Simeon had long been threatening ruin, and the monks had not ventured for some time to sing their Offices in the choir, when, on the eve of St. Ermenild, (Feb. 12, 1321 O. S.,) as the brethren were returning to their dormitory after attending matins in St. Catherine's Chapel, it fell, "with such a shock and with so great a tumult that it was thought an earthquake had taken place." No one was hurt, however; and the Chronicler of Ely remarks, as an especial proof of the Divine protection, that the shrines of the three sainted abbesses, Etheldreda, Sexburga, and Withburga, which stood at the eastern end of the choir, escaped without the slightest injury. Under the care of the sacrist, Alan of Walsingham, the ruins were cleared away, and the work of

the octagon begun. This was completed, as high as the vaulting, in 1328. The vault and lantern were then commenced; but these are entirely of wood, and as it was difficult to find timber of sufficient strength, the work advanced more slowly. It was finished in 1342. The cost of the entire structure was £2,400 6s. 11d.; a sum of which it is difficult to estimate the proportional value, but which was perhaps equal to about £60,000 of our money.

Alan of Walsingham alone, "of all the architects of Northern Europe, seems to have conceived the idea of getting rid of what in fact was the bathos of the style—the narrow tall opening of the central tower, which, though possessing exaggerated height, gave neither space nor dignity to the principal feature. Accordingly, he took for his base the whole breadth of the church, north and south, including the aisles, by that of the transepts with their aisles in the opposite direction. Then, cutting off the angles of this large square, he obtained an octagon more than three times as large as the square upon which the central tower would have stood by the usual English arrangement*." The octagon is thus formed by four larger and four smaller arches. The larger open to the nave, choir, and transepts; the smaller to the aisles of all three. At the pier angles are groups of slender shafts, from which springs a ribbed vaulting of wood. This supports the lantern, likewise octagonal in shape, but set in such a manner as to have its angles opposite the faces of the stone octagon below,

* Fergusson, Handbook of Arch., pp. 869, 870.

and consisting of a series of enriched panels, with eight windows above them, small shafts at the angles of which support a richly groined and bossed roof. The entire roof, above the piers of the octagon, forms "the only Gothic dome in existence, though Italian architects had done the same thing, and the method was in common use with the Byzantines¹."

XII. The great eastern arch of the octagon rises above the vault of the choir; the space between which and the arch is filled with open tracery. Above the crown of each of the great arches, in the space between it and the vaulting, is a trefoil containing the seated figure of a saint.

The details of the four smaller sides of the octagon are admirable, and demand especial notice. The hood-mouldings of the principal arches rest on sculptured heads; of which those north-east probably represent Edward III. and his queen, Philippa, during whose

¹ Fergusson, p. 870. The exact place of Alan of Walsingham's interment is unknown. His epitaph has been preserved, and ran thus:—

"Flos operatorum, dum vixit corpore sanus
Hic jacet ante chorum Prior en tumultus, Alanus.
Annis bis denis vivens fuit ipse Sacrista,
Plus tribus his plenis Prior ens perfecit et ista,
Sacristariam quasi funditus edificavit;
Mephale, Brame, etiam, huic ecclesie cumulavit.
Pro veteri turre, quæ quadam nocte cadebat,
Hanc turrim proprie quam cernitis hic faciebat;
Et plures sedes quia fecerat ipse Prioris,
Detur ei sedes celi, pro fine laboris."

He died apparently in the year 1364.

reign the work was completed; those south-east, Bishop Hotham and Prior Craudene, who presided over the see and the monastery at the time; and those north-west, Alan of Walsingham, the sacrist and architect, and his master of the works. The heads on the south-west arch are too much shattered to be identified. In the angle of each pier is a projecting niche, once containing a statue. These niches rise from large brackets, supported by a group of slender shafts, the capitals of which are sculptured with the story of St. Etheldreda. (See § XIII.) The wall above the niches is panelled with tabernacle-work in three divisions, each of which contains a bracket enriched with foliage. Some carved heads here, and in the corbel-table above, should be noticed. Above, again, is a window of four lights, the arrangement of which is especially beautiful and ingenious. The window itself fills the whole bay of the vault, and is necessarily sharp pointed and narrowed toward the top. At the height of the four great octagon arches, however, an inner arch is thrown across, the space between which and the crown of the vault is filled with open tracery, corresponding to the blind tracery which covers the wall above the greater arches. A passage along the base of these windows communicates with the clerestories of nave and choir.

Three of these windows have been filled with stained glass, by WATLES. Those south-east and north-east represent the principal persons belonging to the story of St. Etheldreda. That south-west displays Edward III., Queen Philippa, Bishop Hotham, and Prior Crau-

dene,—in whose time the octagon was first constructed; and Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, (in his robes as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge,) Dr. Turton, Bishop, and Dr. Peacock, the late Dean, of Ely, who represent its modern restoration.

XIII. The story of St. Etheldreda will be found at length in Part II. The subjects of the sculptures below the niches in the octagon, beginning from the north-west arch, are as follows :—

1. The marriage of Etheldreda with Egfrid of Northumbria. The figures supporting Etheldreda are apparently those of her uncle, Ethelwold, King of East Anglia, and her elder sister, Sexburga, afterwards Abbess of Ely. (Her father and mother, Anna and Hereswitha, were dead at the time of this her second marriage.) Wilfrid, the famous Bishop of Northumbria, is celebrating the marriage. The Bishop's cross and aspersorium, or holy-water sprinkler, are borne by attendant monks.

2. The dedication of St. Etheldreda in the convent of Coldinghame. The abbess, St. Ebba, aunt of King Egfrid, is supporting her veil. Bishop Wilfrid is blessing Etheldreda, who kneels before an altar, on which is her crown. At the back of the Abbess are attendant nuns, one of whom carries her pastoral staff.

3. The miracle at Coldeburch's Head. [See Part II.] On the rock, round which the sea is flowing, are St. Etheldreda and her two companions, Sewenna and Sevara. Egfrid and his attendants are riding round the rock, amazed at the miracle.

4. St. Etheldreda's staff bursts into leaf. [See Pt. II.]

She is asleep, watched by her companions. Behind is her staff, in full leaf and bearing fruit. The sculptor has represented a medlar rather than an ash, the mystic tree of the old Saxons, into which, according to the legend, the staff developed.

5. The installation of St. Etheldreda as Abbess of Ely by Bishop Wilfrid. Remark the distinction between the crozier and the pastoral staff; one turned toward the bearer, the other outward.

6. The death and "chesting" of St. Etheldreda. The first division represents the last moments of the saint; who supports her pastoral staff in one hand, whilst Huna, her priest, lifts the consecrated host at her side. In the second division she is placed in her coffin, which Bishop Wilfrid is blessing. Weeping nuns fill the background.

7. The translation of St. Etheldreda. [See Part II.] Her sister, the Abbess Sexburga, is lifting the body, which is found uncorrupted and flexible. Bishop Wilfrid, and Kinefrid, the physician, are describing the event to three royal personages.

8. Ymma loosed from his fetters by the masses of Tunna and the intercession of St. Etheldreda. [See Part II.] The Abbesses Sexburga and Withburga also appear, and two angels attend them.

The costume of all these figures, it need hardly be said, is that of the reign of Edward III. The expressions and attitudes are good and characteristic; but the work is scarcely so refined or so imaginative as that of the earlier sculptures at Wells and Salisbury.

XIV. The vaulted roof of the octagon has been very

effectively coloured; and the whole, including the lantern, is in progress of restoration as a memorial of the late Dean Peacock, who was the first to set on foot the general repair and decoration of the cathedral. When the nave-roof has been completed there can be no doubt that Ely will be the most magnificently restored church in Europe, and will afford one of the most perfect examples of a great mediæval cathedral in the height of its original splendour. The colour, as far as it has yet gone, is very satisfactory. All the gloom and coldness of neglect and whitewash has disappeared; and the eye rests contentedly on the rich glass of the windows, and on the golden diapers of the roof and corbels, set forth and relieved as they are by the neutral tints of the oak choir-screen and stalls, the grey stone of the walls, and the dark marble of the Purbeck shafts and capitals.

The architectural views from the octagon are superb. That down the nave should be especially noticed, for the grandeur produced by its great length, extending beyond the tower into the west porch.

XV. As in Norwich Cathedral, and in many other conventual churches, the *choir* of the monks at Ely extended beyond the central tower, and after that had fallen, beyond the octagon, to the second pier of the nave. So it continued until 1770, when it was removed to the six eastern bays of the cathedral. At the commencement of the present restoration the arrangement of the choir was again altered; and it now begins at the eastern arch of the octagon, and embraces seven bays; the two easternmost, beyond them, forming the retro-choir.

The choir is divided from the octagon by a very beautiful oaken *screen*, with gates of brass. This is entirely modern, and designed by Mr. G. G. Scott. An excellent effect is produced by the double planes of tracery in the upper divisions of the screen; the cresting of which, with its coronals of leafage, should be especially remarked. Lofty pinnacles of tabernacle-work rise on either side, above the stalls of the bishop and dean. The screen, notwithstanding its great elaboration, is sufficiently light and open to permit the use of the octagon as well as of the choir, during service.

The restoration of the *choir* is nearly complete; and the first impression on entering it will not readily be forgotten. Of the seven bays of which it consists, the four easternmost (as well as the two beyond, which form the retro-choir) are the work of Bishop HUGH DE NORWOLD, (1229—1254*): the three western bays, in which the stalls are placed, were commenced in 1338, the year after the death of Bishop Hotham, who left money toward the work; and were completed during the episcopate of THOMAS DE LISLE, (1345—1362). The division between the two portions is very sharply marked, not only by the difference of style, but by an ascent of two steps, and by broad shafts of stone which rise to the roof, and are in fact the original

* Bishop Hugh's work embraced the whole of the presbytery, including the three western bays destroyed by the fall of the tower. It was seventeen years in building, and cost, according to the *Hist. Eliensis*, (*Ang. Sac.*, i. p. 636,) £5,040 18s. 8d.; a sum equalling about £120,000 at present.

Norman shafts which stood at the turn of the apse terminating the choir before it was rebuilt by Bishop Hugh¹. It was found possible to retain them in the walls of the new choir; and their capitals, which are Early English, were added at the same time.

The unbroken roof, extending quite to the eastern end, resulted from the unusual position of the Lady-chapel, (§.xxix.) The height (70 feet) and the width (35 feet within the piers) of the choir are also somewhat unusual.

XVI. The eastern portion of the choir—the Early English work of Bishop Hugh de Norwold—should first be examined. The piers are of Purbeck marble, octangular, with attached ringed shafts, the capitals of which are enriched with leafage of late Early English character. Knots of similar foliage are placed between the bases of the shafts. The arch-mouldings have the dog-tooth ornament. At the intersections are bosses of foliage, and there are large open trefoils in the spandrels. Long corbels of leafage, extending to the bosses at the intersections of the arches, carry the vaulting-shafts, which are in groups of three, ringed at the springing of the triforium arches (in a line with the capitals of the triforium shafts) and rising to the level of the clerestory, where they terminate in rich capitals of leafage. Corbels, shafts, and capitals are of Purbeck marble.

The *triforium* arches, above the piers, greatly resemble those below in mouldings and ornaments; and

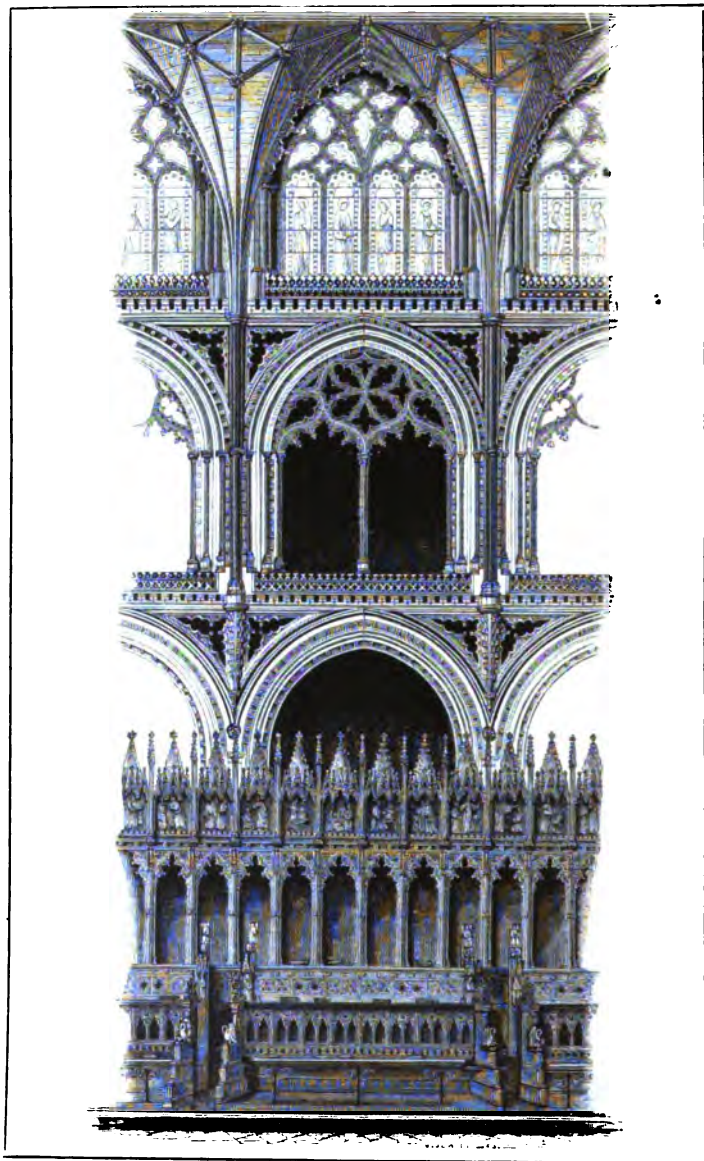
¹ The foundations of this apse remain; and have been traced close below the pavement of the present choir.

are subdivided by a central group of shafts. In the tympanum above is an open quatrefoil, with bunches of leafage on either side. Pointed quatrefoils also appear in the spandrils. The triforium extends backwards over the choir-aisles. Early in the fourteenth century—to all appearance shortly before the fall of the tower—the exterior walls were raised, and large windows inserted with Decorated tracery. In the two westernmost bays of Bishop Hugh's work, however, the triforium was removed altogether; and the inner arches transformed into windows, of the same character as those of the triforium eastward. It is probable that the original arrangement (which may still be seen outside the cathedral, south, where Bishop Hugh's exterior walls and window-openings remain—see § xxxii.) was found to admit too little light upon St. Etheldreda's shrine, which stood immediately between these two bays.

The *clerestory* windows are triplets, set flush with the outer wall. An inner, open arcade rises above the triforium, thus forming a gallery. The arches toward the choir are supported by shafts of Purbeck. The *roof* of this Early English portion of the cathedral is simply groined. The vaulting-ribs are arranged in groups of seven. The bosses at the intersections are carved in foliage, with the exception of two toward the west, which represent a bishop seated, with crozier and mitre, and the coronation of the Virgin.

The foliage of all Bishop Hugh's work deserves careful examination. The arrangement in the corbels of the vaulting-shafts varies, and should be remarked.

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ONE BAY OF THE CHOIR.

The bunches in the tympana of the triforium approach to a decided imitation of nature, and should be compared with the foliage in Walsingham's work below, where the naturalism is fully developed. The juxtaposition of the two works is throughout very instructive; and the visitor should proceed at once to examine the three western bays of the choir, before turning to the modern reredos, or to the various monuments, which will be afterwards noticed.

XVII. The *three western bays* were completed, as has been already mentioned, between the years 1345 and 1362. [Plate IV.] The arrangement on either side is precisely that of Bishop Hugh's work; but the superior beauty will at once be recognised. The lower arches, and those of the triforium, have square bosses of foliage attached to their mouldings in a very striking manner. (Compare these with the dog-tooth used in the earlier work.) The trefoils in the spandrels differ in form from Bishop Hugh's, and the long corbels are carved with natural oak-leaves. A low, open parapet runs along at the base of the triforium and clerestory; which latter is set back within an inner arch, opening to the choir, as in Bishop Hugh's work; but this arch is foiled, and extends over the whole space. The tracery of the triforium and of the clerestory windows is exquisitely rich and graceful. The lierne vaulting of the roof should be compared with the earlier and simpler vault east of it. Its bosses have been gilt, and the ribs coloured red and green. The corbels of the vaulting-shafts, which are of "clunch" stone, are blue, with white and gold-tipped

leafage: the trefoils in the spandrels deep-blue, powdered with golden stars. The roofs of the triforium, seen through its arches, are coloured in patterns of black, white, and red. All the clerestory windows on the south side, and one on the north, have been filled with stained glass by WAILES, displaying figures of doctors and martyrs.

The arms of the see¹, and of Bishop Hotham¹, the principal contributor toward the work, are placed in the spandrels of the first bay on the south side. A figure of St. Etheldreda may possibly have stood beneath the canopy which still remains between the first and second bays on the same side.

It is probable that these three western bays form the best example of the pure Decorated period to be found in England; and we may safely adopt Mr. Fergusson's assertion, that their details "are equal to anything in Europe for elegance and appropriateness²."

The *organ*, which has been entirely rebuilt by Hill, occupies a position differing from that of any other in

¹ Gules, 3 ducal coronets, or.

² Barry of ten, az. and arg.; on a canton, or, a martlet sable.

³ Handbook of Architecture. The architectural student will find a comparison of the following portions of Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals, which form an almost complete series, ranging from the commencement of Early English to the perfect development of Decorated, full of interest and instruction:—

Choir of Lincoln, 1186—1200.

Nave of Lincoln, 1209—1220.

Eastern portion of Ely choir, 1229—1254.

Presbytery, or "Angel choir" of Lincoln, 1256—1283.

Western bays of Ely choir, 1345—1362.

England, and projects from the triforium of the third bay on the north side. Its hanging case, a superb mass of carving, coloured and gilt, but with much of the oak-work judiciously left in its natural tint, is entirely modern, and deserves especial notice.

The *stalls* extend throughout this portion of the choir. All those at the back formed part of the original fittings, and have been carefully restored. They are constructed in two stages, the lower of which is recessed; and from the front rises a series of panels, with overhanging canopies. These panels are to be filled with modern sculpture in wood; the south side with subjects from the Old Testament, the north from the New. Ten panels on the south side and eight on the north have been already completed. These represent—south, The Introduction of Eve to Adam; the Fall of Man; the Expulsion; Adam and Eve at labour, (tilling the ground; and spinning); Cain killing Abel; Noah building the Ark; the Deluge; the Sacrifice of Noah; the Promise to Abraham; Isaac carrying the Wood. On the north side are—The Nativity; the Presentation in the Temple; the Offering of the Kings; the Flight into Egypt; the Murder of the Innocents; our Lord Disputing with the Doctors; the Baptism; the Temptation. With the exception of the Nativity, which is by Philip, these sculptures are the work of M. Abeloos, of Louvain. All, but especially those on the south side, are excellent in expression and design. The details in other portions of these upper stalls, the exquisite leafage, the designs in the spandrels, and the figures at the foils of the

canopies, deserve the most careful notice. The colour of the whole is unusually pleasing.

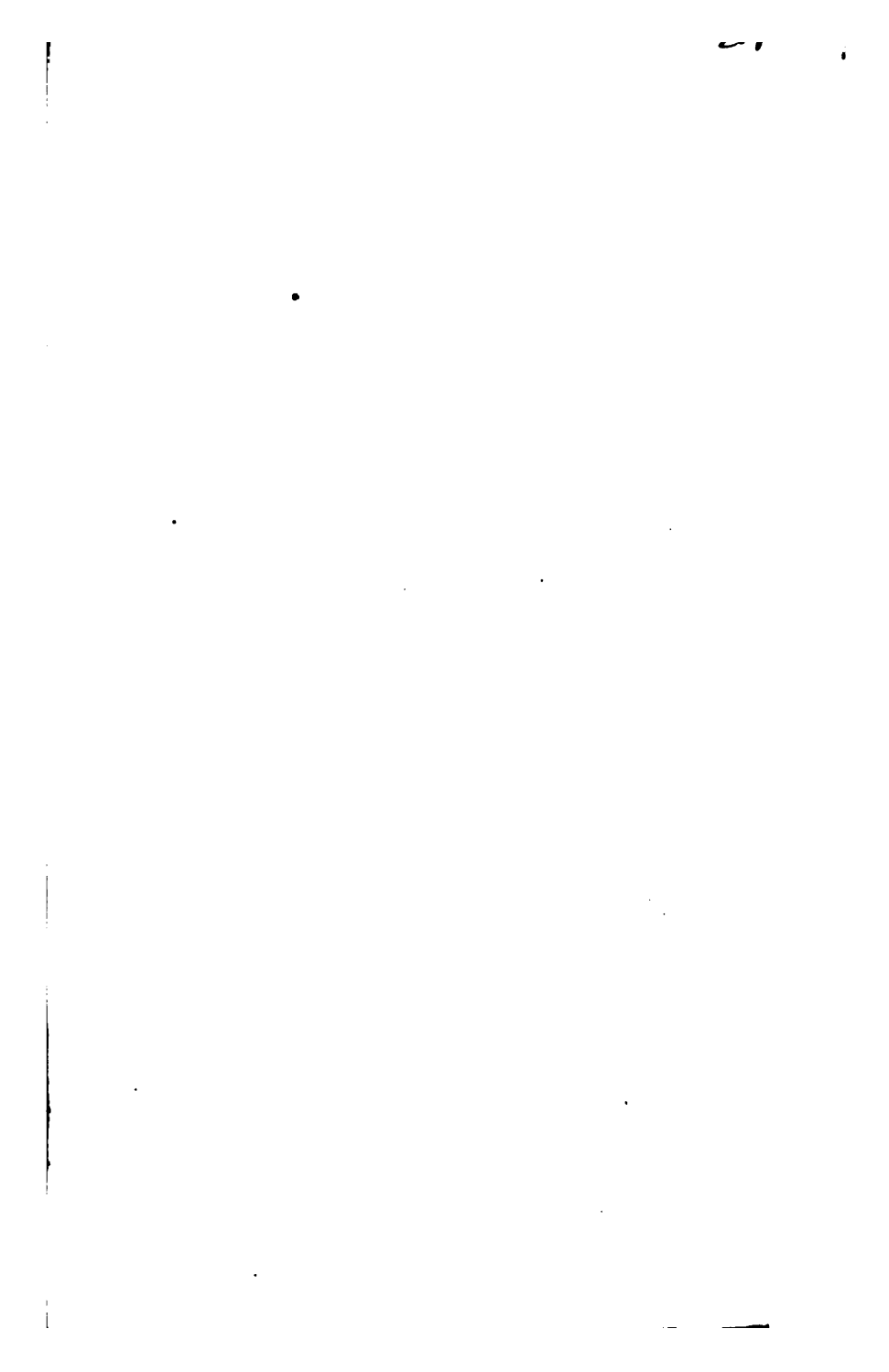
The sub-stalls are new. Their finials display angels holding musical instruments; and at their ends in the upper range is a series of small figures representing the builders of the various portions of the cathedral, from St. Etheldreda, who holds the model of a Saxon church, to Bishop Alcock, who exhibits his chapel. All were designed by Mr. J. Philip, and are not unworthy of the ancient work with which they are associated.

On the floor is a memorial brass for Bishop HOTHAM, entirely new; and that of Prior CRAUDENE, (or Crowden,) died 1341, which has been restored. This brass has a hollow floriated cross, with a small figure of the Prior at the foot. The inscription runs,—

“Hanc aram decorat de Crauden tumba Johannis
Qui fuit hic Prior, ad bona pluria, pluribus annis.
Presulis hunc sedes elegit pontificari,
Presulis ante pedes ideo meruit tumulari.”

On the death of Bishop Hotham, Prior Craudene was unanimously elected by the monks as his successor. But his election was annulled by the Pope, who appointed Simon de Montacute. Prior Craudene was buried at the feet of Bishop Hotham.

XVIII. We may now return to the eastern portion of the choir, where the *altar* and its *reredos* first claim attention. The altar is raised on five low steps, the tiles and inlaid marble of which deserve notice. The cloth in which the altar is vested, embroidered by the Misses Blencowe, is perhaps the very best modern work





THE ALTAR-SCREEN, OR REREDOS.

of the kind. In the centre is a figure of the Saviour. The inscription runs, "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi dona nobis pacem. Agnus Dei miserere nobis."

The *altar-screen* or *roredos*, [Plate V.], designed by Mr. G. G. Scott, was the gift of John Dunn Gardner, Esq., of Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, as a memorial to his first wife. Immediately over the altar are five compartments filled with sculpture; above which rises a mass of rich tabernacle-work. The sculptures, which are in alabaster, represent—Christ's Entry into Jerusalem; Washing the Disciples' feet; the Last Supper; the Agony in the Garden; Bearing the Cross. Shafts of alabaster, round which a spiral belt is twisted, inlaid with agates and crystals on a gold ground, divide these compartments, and support the arches above. The tabernacle-work is crowded with figures of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and with medallion heads in relief: those on the north represent Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; those south, the four Doctors of the Latin Church—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. Each compartment terminates in a gable, of which that in the centre is highest. In this gable is the Saviour, with Moses and Elias on either side; above is a medallion of the Annunciation; and on the highest point a figure of our Lord in Majesty. On the side gables are figures of the four Evangelists, with their emblems on the crockets. In trefoils, set in the gables, are projecting busts; those north representing Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James; those south St. John the Baptist and St. John the Divine. On

spiral pillars between the gables are figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, north; and of Justice, Prudence, and Fortitude, south. All the details of this very important work of modern art—in which the spirit rather than the letter of ancient examples has been followed—deserve the most careful observation. Much gold and colour has been applied to the figures, and to other portions of the sculpture, under the direction of Mr. Hudson.

XIX. Beginning on the south side of the choir, the first monument westward is that of Bishop **WILLIAM OF LOUTH**, (de Luda, 1290—1298; see Part II.,) [Plate VI.], a fine and unusual design. It consists of a lofty central arch, with smaller openings at the sides. The arches are crowned with gables, much enriched, and terminating in pinnacles and finials of leafage. On the floor beneath the central canopy is a slab with the figure of a bishop, from which the brass has disappeared. In the bases of the east and west arches are figures of the four Evangelists; in the tympanum of the central gable is the Saviour in Majesty. The monument, on the north side, has been gorgeously restored in colour and mosaics, a peculiar green having been used with advantage.

The adjoining monument, east, is that of Bishop **BARNET**, (1366—1373,) with good quatrefoils at the sides. The brass has been destroyed. The next tomb is that of **JOHN TIPTOFT, EARL OF WORCESTER**,—the most accomplished nobleman of his time, and one of five Englishmen mentioned by Leland (another was William Gray, Bishop of Ely,) who travelled to Italy in order to become disciples of the younger Guarini, at



MONUMENT OF BISHOP DE LUDA

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Ferrara. The Earl, who had been Edward the Fourth's Constable of England, was an ardent Yorkist: and after the success of Warwick's expedition in 1470, he was found concealed in a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was tried before the Earl of Oxford, beheaded, and buried in the Tower. His two wives, whose effigies rest on either side of the Earl's, were alone buried at Ely. The monument is a fine example of late Perpendicular. It is a high altar-tomb, with a canopy of three arches, and a screen of open-work in two stages rising above it. The pendants between the arches are noticeable; as are the patterns of leafage, for the most part ivy and oak. The Earl is in armour, but wears a coronet.

In the last bay on this side has been placed the tomb of Bishop HOTHAM, (1316—1334); originally attached to the so-called "shrine" which stands opposite to it, and placed in the first (or eastern) bay of the Decorated portion of the choir. In front is a graceful arcade. The six iron rings inserted in the upper slab of Purbeck possibly supported the canopy of an effigy.

XX. On the *north* side, the monument opposite Bishop Hotham's tomb is that of Bishop NORWOLD, (1229—1254,) much dilapidated, but of high interest. The base is modern. On it rests the effigy of the Bishop fully vested, with smaller figures and sculptures at the sides and foot. At the foot is represented the story of St. Edmund, of whose great monastery at Bury Bishop Hugh had been abbot. The King is seen tied to a tree and shot at with arrows by the Danes; on

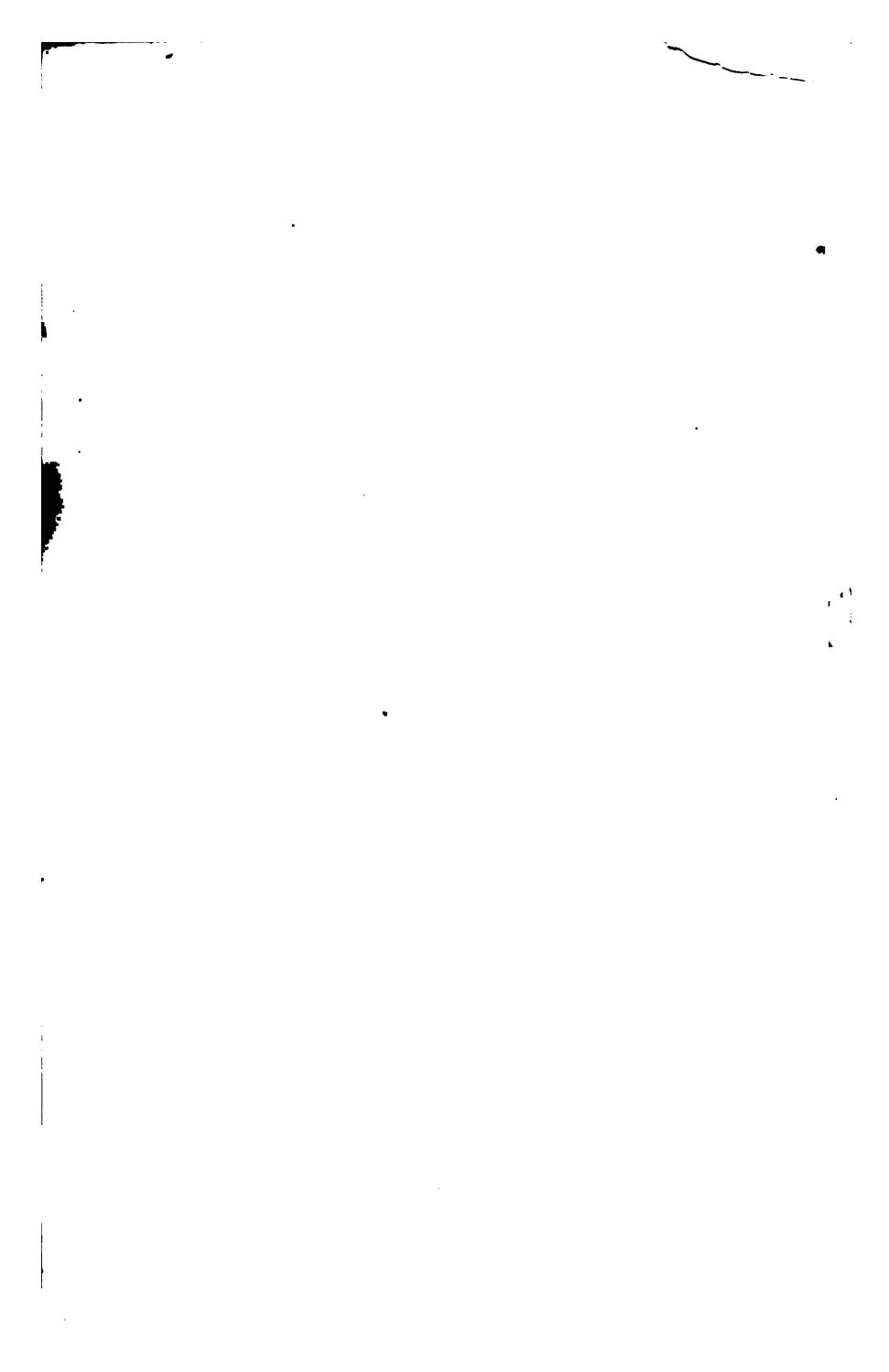


Sculpture on Bishop Norwold's Tomb.

one side he is beheaded, on the other is the wolf of the legend, which protected the head of the royal martyr¹. On one side of the principal effigy are the figures of a king, (St. Edmund,) and of Bishop Hugh as abbot and monk: on the other three representations of St. Etheldreda, as queen, abbess, and nun. The two great monasteries over which Bishop Hugh had presided were thus commemorated. The shafts supporting the canopy are curiously enriched with foliage.

The next monument is the so-called *shrines* of Bishop HOTHAM, which formerly stood in the lower part of the choir, very near the position occupied by the great

¹ This is the usual interpretation of the figures: but it seems more probable that the figure holding a short sword, above the king, is that of a protecting or avenging angel; and that the so-called wolf is the evil spirit in animal form, inciting the Danes to the murder. It is distinctly hoofed.





MONUMENT OF BISHOP REDMAN.

shrine of St. Etheldreda. The shrine consists of two stories, the lower of which has open arches, the upper is enclosed. At intersections of the upper arches are monastic; and in front, those of a king and queen. The work is very good, and should be remarked. The tomb of Bishop Hotham, now on the south side of the choir, formerly stood within the arches of the lower story. The upper arches were originally filled with sculpture; and on the top was a lofty 'branch' for seven great tapers. It is not impossible that the upper portion of this tomb may have served as the watching-chamber for the shrine of St. Etheldreda. It resembles in its arrangements the watching-chamber of St. Frideswide's shrine at Oxford: (see that cathedral).

Below, again, is the effigy of Bishop WILLIAM DE KILKENNY, (1255—1257,) who died in Spain, (see Part II.,) but whose heart was brought to Ely for interment. The effigy is a very fine and perfect specimen of Early English, with censuring angels at the head. The morse or clasp of the cope should be remarked.

The last monument is that of Bishop REDMAN, (1501—1506,) [Plate VII.,] with a very elaborate Perpendicular canopy. The arms of the Bishop and See, and the emblems of the Passion, are placed on shields in the upper spandrils of the canopy, on the tomb itself, and on brackets at the head of it.

XXI. We now pass into the *north choir-aisle*; the first three bays of which, westward, are Decorated, and of the same period as the western choir: the remaining portion is Early English, and part of Bishop Hugh's work. The distinction between the two por-

tions is evident in the roof, which is rich lierne in the Decorated work, and plainly vaulted, with bosses, in the Early English—and in the Purbeck capitals of the shafts, of which the Early English are enriched with leafage, the Decorated are plain.

The aisle windows are late Early English. The screen-work at the back of the stalls, and the staircase to the organ-loft are modern. Opposite this staircase is a very rich Decorated doorway, much mutilated, through which the Lady-chapel was approached. (§ XXVII.)

On the floor of this aisle is the brass of the architect BASEVI, who was killed by a fall from the western tower in 1845. Against the wall are the monuments of Bishop SIMON PATRICK, (1691—1707,) displaying marble drapery with gilt fringe and tassels, cherubs, urns, and pyramids. “*Pientissimus senex,*” runs the inscription, “*placide animam Deo reddidit, 31 Maii, 1707; a. ætat. 81,*”—of Bishop MAWSON, (1754—1771,) and of Bishop LANEY, (1667—1675,) “*facundia amabilis; acumine terribilis; eruditione auctissimus Hunc monarchiæ et hierarchiæ ruinæ feriebant impavidum; hunc earundem instauratio ad thronum Petroburgensem, Lincolnensem, Eliensem, extulit horrentem.*” The window above is filled with stained glass by WARD, as a memorial for Canon Fardell, died 1854. The subject is the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

At the west end of this aisle, between it and the eastern aisle of the transept, is the monument of Dean CÆSAR, died 1636. It has been restored, and is a good example of the time.

XXII. The *retro-choir*, behind the altar, is part of Bishop Hugh's work, as has already been mentioned. The eastern end is filled with two tiers of windows; the lower consisting of three very long lancets, with groups of Purbeck shafts at the angles, very rich mouldings, and elongated quatrefoils in the spandrels; the upper, of five lancets, diminishing from the centre, and set back, as in the clerestory, within an arcade supported by shafts. The manner in which this arcade is made to fill the eastern end, and the consequent form of its arches, are especially noticeable. The gold and colour of the roof bosses have been carried into it with excellent effect. The windows are filled with stained glass by Wailes; representing, in the lower lights, the history of our Lord, in a series of medallions, commencing from the figure of Jesse at the bottom of the south lancet. The upper windows contain figures of the Apostles, with the Saviour in majesty at the top of the central light, and beneath, four events which occurred after the Crucifixion. These windows were the gift of Bishop SPARKE, died 1836, whose kneeling figure is seen at the bottom of the north lancet. The glass is by far the best in the cathedral.

Immediately at the back of the altar-screen is a slab of rich Alexandrine mosaic, a memorial of Bishop ALLEN, died 1845. The work, which is very elaborate, but scarcely very beautiful, cost £1000. Here is also a monument, designed by Scott and executed by Philip, to the memory of Dr. Mill, died 1853, Canon of Ely, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and President of the Episcopal College, Calcutta. The monument

consists of an altar-tomb, of alabaster and serpentine, garnished with marble mosaic and hard stones polished, bearing a recumbent effigy of Dr. Mill in his doctor's robes. The figure is in copper, and was formed by the electrotype process. At the feet are two kneeling figures—one an Oriental, the other a Cambridge student. Between the retro-choir and the north aisle is the tomb-stone of Bishop GRAY, (1454—1478,) stripped of its brasses.

XXIII. At the end of the north aisle is the chapel of Bishop ALCOCK, (1486—1501; see Part II.), designed in all probability by himself, since he was "Controller of the royal works and buildings" under Henry VII. The walls are fretted with a superb mass of tabernacled-work, which must have been wonderfully rich when crowded with figures, all of which have now disappeared. The details, however, hardly bear comparison with the better Decorated work of the choir. The roof is richly groined, with a central dependent boss. The windows, which are early Decorated, seem to have been retained by Bishop Alcock from the original termination of the aisle. The chapel is entered by doors west and south. On the north side is the Bishop's tomb, with a window at the back, containing some remains of ancient stained glass. A door opens to the small space behind the tomb, probably the Bishop's chantry, forming an arrangement very beautiful and unusual. Upon the tomb itself, and in the glass of the east window, is the Bishop's rebus or device—a cock on a globe. His shield of arms (three cocks' heads) is over the south door. The original stone altar remains at the east

end, but raised on modern supports. Remark the curious bosses under the brackets on either side, representing ammonites projecting from their shells and biting each other. Above is placed a stone found in opening a grave near the chapel, and bearing the inscription "Johannes Alcock Eps. Elien. hanc fabricam fieri fecit 1488."

The chapel has been partly restored, and the floor laid with encaustic tiles. Against the south side is placed the tomb, with mutilated effigy, of the Cardinal DE LUXEMBURG, Bishop of Ely, (1438—1443,) an ordinary specimen.

XXIV. Opposite, at the end of the *south choir-aisle*, is the chapel of Bishop WEST, (1515—1534,) the walls of which are panelled with tabernacle-work, and crowded with figures, though not to such an extent as Bishop Alcock's. In this chapel the influence of the "renaissance" is at once evident. Italian ornamentation is especially noticeable in the brackets of the lower tier of niches, and in the lower part of that over the door, which displays a figure in the costume of Francis I. The ceiling, too, is a good example of the conversion of Gothic fan-tracery into the later panelled roof, having deeply moulded ribs with pendent bosses, and panels painted with arabesques and figures of cherubs. Round the lower brackets runs the Bishop's motto, "Gratia Dei sum quod sum," which also appears over the door, on the exterior. The ornament round this door should be noticed, as well as the remains of colour. The ornaments have been white, on a blue ground. The

original iron-work of the doors should also be remarked. The tomb of Bishop West is on the south side of the chapel, under a window which contains some fragments of old glass. The sculptured figures and ornaments have been terribly shattered, possibly in obedience to the injunctions of the Protector Somerset in 1547, for the "general purification of the churches," which ordered that "from wall and window every picture, every image commemorative of saint or prophet or apostle, was to be extirpated and put away 'so that there should remain no memory of the same'." These orders were no doubt imperfectly obeyed; but works so recently completed as this chapel, still fresh in colour and gilding, would at once attract attention, and were probably the first to suffer. The chapel here may be compared with that built by Bishop West in the parish church of Putney, Surrey, his birth-place.

Over Bishop West's tomb is an inscription recording the removal to this chapel, in 1771, of the bones of seven benefactors of the church of Ely, whose names are recorded in small arches beneath:—Wulstan, Archbishop of York, died 1023; Osmund, a Swedish bishop, died about 1067; Alwin, bishop of Elmham, died 1029; Ælfgar, bishop of Elmham, died 1021; Ednoth, bishop of Dorchester, killed by the Danes in 1016; Athelstan, bishop of Elmham, died about 996; and Brithnoth, duke of Northumbria, killed in battle by the Danes 991. Bishop Osmund, who came to England from Sweden when a very aged man, remained for some time at

^m Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, v. p. 37.



EARLY COFFIN-SLAB IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

tached to the household of Edward the Confessor; and then ended his days at Ely. Duke Brithnoth had visited the monastery before setting out to attack the Northmen on the coast of Essex, and bestowed many manors on the monks, on condition that, if he fell in battle, they should bring his body to Ely for interment, which they did. The remains of these seven benefactors were first interred in the Saxon church; and were removed to the Norman cathedral in 1154. The small coffers which contained them were afterwards placed in the north wall of the choir; where they were found when the choir was altered (see § xv.) in 1770. They were then re-interred in this chapel.

At the east end of the chapel, under a window filled with stained glass by Evans (representing the four Evangelists, with St. John the Baptist in the centre), is a high tomb for Bishop SPARKE; died 1836.

XXV. In its architecture the *south choir-aisle* precisely resembles the north. The window adjoining Bishop West's chapel is a memorial for ASHLEY SPARKE, "qui obiit in armis Balaclavæ, Oct. 25, 1854."

Under an adjoining arch is a most remarkable fragment of a monument, found in 1829 in St. Mary's Church, Ely, beneath the flooring of the nave. [Plate VIII.] An angel with wings raised above the head, bears in the folding of his robe a small naked figure (the soul) apparently of a bishop, since a crozier projects at the side. The hands of this small figure are spread open in front, thumb touching thumb. The angel wears a kind of cope, ornamented at the sides. Round his

head is a large circular aureole with a jewelled rim; and the wings are thrown up grandly at the back, filling nearly all the upper part of the arch under the canopy. This is raised on long shafts, and shews a mass of buildings with circular arches above the head. On the inside rim is the inscription, "SĈ S. Michael oret p' me." The slab, the lower part of which is gone, is of Purbeck marble. The work is no doubt very early Norman, and of the highest interest.

XXVI. Against the south wall are the monuments of Bishop GUNNING, (1675—1684,) a reclining figure in a much tumbled robe: "*Vitam egit cœlibem, angelicam,*" says the inscription;—Bishop MOORE (1707—1714), an amateur physician, as the inscription indicates:—

*"Jam licet improba mors satiet se corpore Moori
Præsulis et Medici; sed nec inultus obit;"*—

howling cherubs watch on either side of the monument;—Bishop HEATON (1600 — 1609) in a richly figured cope, of which vestment this is perhaps the latest post-Reformation example;—Robert STEWARD, Esq., died 1570, reclining uncomfortably upon a helmet;—Sir Mark STEWARD, died 1603, a good example of armour;—the monument is coloured in red and green;—and Bishop Allen, died 1845, a robed figure, half rising, by Ternouth, and not too good.

Against the choir are the monuments of Bishop BUTTS, (1738 — 1747,) with bust; and of Bishop GREENE, (1723—1738).

On the floor are the matrices of many brasses which have disappeared; and two good perfect ones, the first

for Dean TYNDALL, Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, died 1614, who is represented in his robe, with a square-cut beard. The inscription runs—

"Usquequo, Domine, Usquequo. The body of the worthy and reverende praelate, Umphry Tyndall, doth here expect the coming of our Saviour.

"In presence, government, good actions, and in birth,
Grave, wise, courageous, noble was this earth.
The poore, the Church, the College, say here lies,
A Friend, a Dean, a Master,—true, good, wise."

The other brass is that of Bishop GOODRICH, (1534—1554,) very interesting as an example of the episcopal vestments worn after the early Reformation. In his right hand he holds the Bible; and the great seal of England hangs below. Goodrich was made Lord Chancellor in 1551. "Magnus tandem Angliæ factus Cancellarius" runs the inscription, "charior ne Principi propter singularem prudentiam, an amabilior populo propter integritatem et abstinentiam fuerat ad indicandum est perquam difficile." Observe the renaissance character of the ornaments on the chasuble and other vestments.

On a small brass plate is an inscription recording

"Ursula { Tyndall by birth,
Coxee by choice,
Upcher in age and for comfort."

XXVII. The *Chapter Library* is arranged in the east aisle of the south transept, which was long since enclosed for the purpose. The collection is principally historical and theological; but it contains nothing calling for especial notice.

The *iron gates* of the choir-aisles are modern; very rich, and excellent in design. The flowers and corn in the upper part of that leading into the south aisle, coloured and gilt, should be specially remarked.

XXVIII. Through a passage opening from the north-east corner of the north transept we enter the *Lady-chapel*, which, since the Reformation, has served as a parish church. When perfect, it was one of the most beautiful and elaborate examples of the Decorated period to be found in England; and it will still amply repay the most careful study.

The first stone of the Lady-chapel was laid on the Festival of the Annunciation, 1321, by Alan of Walsingham, architect of the octagon, who was at the time sub-prior of the monastery. The work was continued for twenty-eight years, under the superintendence of John of Wisbeach, one of the monks; who, whilst digging the foundations, found a brazen vessel full of money, with which he paid the workmen as long as it lasted^a. He received contributions also from different quarters; and the Bishop, Simon de Montacute, gave largely toward the work, — “like Simon the high-priest, the son of Onias,” says the Monk of Ely, “who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple.”

Although John of Wisbeach superintended the work, the architect was in all probability Alan of Walsingham. The chapel is a long parallelogram of five bays,

^a Monach. Eliens., ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 651.

^o Eccles. l. 1.

with five windows on either side, the tracery in which is alike. The east end is nearly filled by a large window of seven lights, the design of which is unusual, and suggests the approaching change from Decorated to Perpendicular. At the west end is another large window, differing in tracery. Both east and west windows have transoms. The roof is an elaborate lierne vault, resembling that of the Decorated portion of the choir. Between all the side windows is rich tabernacle-work with canopies, from which the figures have disappeared; and along the wall beneath runs an arcade which has been magnificent. This is formed by three arches in each bay, with projecting canopies, and spandrels above filled with sculpture. The east end has a somewhat different arrangement, with a large niche immediately over the altar, in which no doubt originally stood a figure of the Virgin. This arcade, with its brackets and canopies, deserves especial notice. The whole has been terribly shattered. The Protector's injunctions were obeyed but too well; yet much of the foliage and lesser details probably remains uninjured beneath successive coats of whitewash, and should be properly cleared and recovered.

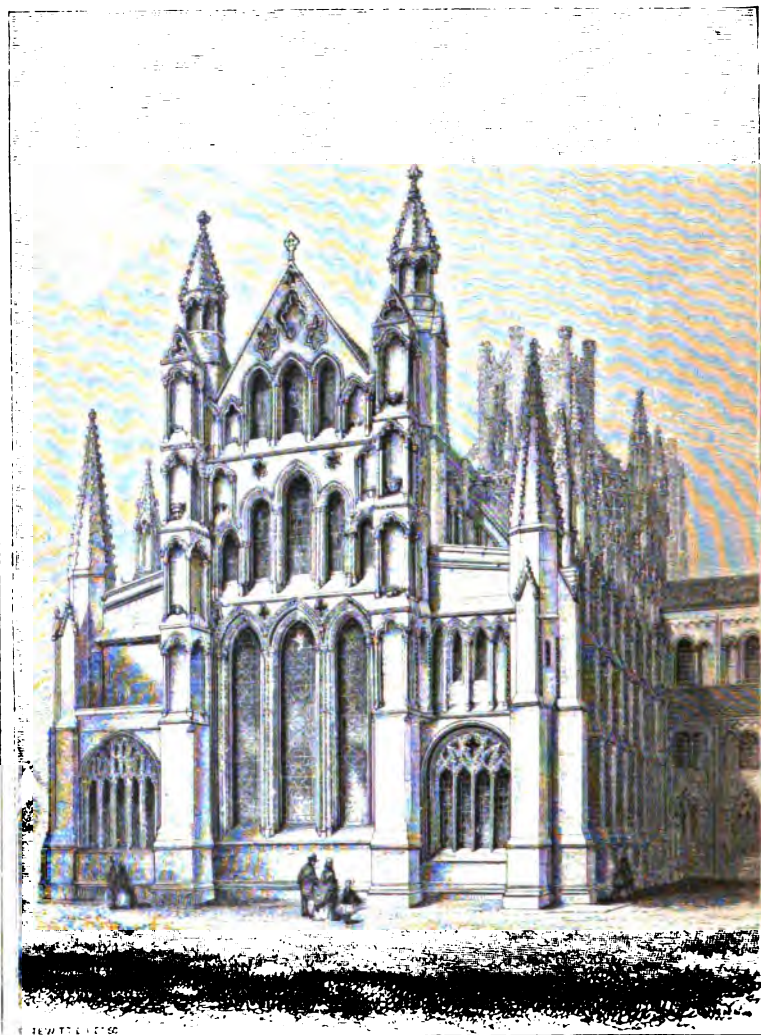
The position of this Lady-chapel is unusual. The Lady chapel at Peterborough, of earlier date, (1278), but now destroyed, was, however, similarly placed. ~~Other~~ ^{Other} examples of Lady-chapels added elsewhere than at the eastern end, occur at Oxford, Rochester, Durham, and Bristol. In nearly all these cases, the most honourable position, at the eastern end of the church, was re-

served for the shrine of the local saint,—as St. Cuthbert at Durham, and St. Etheldreda at Ely.

XXIX. A staircase in the north transept leads to the upper parts of the cathedral; the most interesting portion of which is the timber bracing of the roof of the octagon, added some time after its completion, in order to strengthen the entire work. A fine interior view, looking westward, is obtained from the passage at the base of the upper tier of windows at the east end; and a vast panorama of the fens and lowlands of Cambridgeshire, with the Ouse winding through them, is gained from the summit of the western tower.

XXX. Passing out of the cathedral by the western porch, we proceed to notice the exterior. Beyond the ruined north-west transept, the fall of which has already (§ v.) been noticed, a view is obtained of the great *western tower*, which, as high as the stage level with the clerestory of the nave, was the work of Bishop RIDDELL, (1174—1189). The stages up to the commencement of the octagon are Early English; and were probably built by Bishop Riddell's successor, William LONGCHAMP, (1189—1198). The octagon itself, with its buttressing turrets, was added during the Decorated period; and was originally crowned with a slender spire of wood, which has disappeared. The pierced openings in the parapet of the tower and in the upper part of the buttress turrets occasionally produce beautiful and unusual effects of light.

The Perpendicular windows inserted in the triforium of the nave may here be remarked; as well as the



THE EAST END.

buttressing turrets, with their spire-like terminations, at the ends of the great transept. A portion of the north-west corner of this north transept fell in 1699; but was rebuilt, and the original stone-work carefully replaced, under the care of Sir Christopher Wren. The part rebuilt may, however, be readily traced on the exterior, though scarcely within.

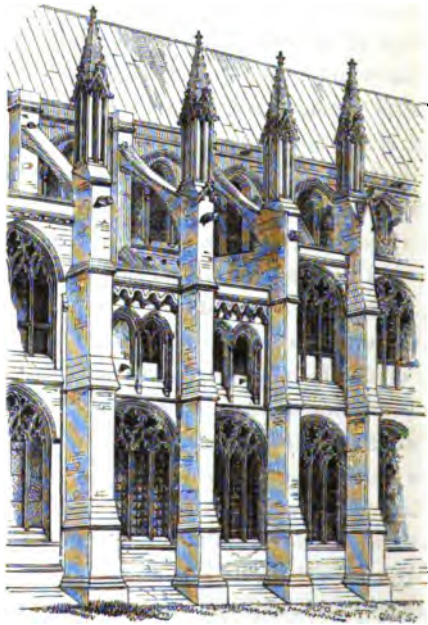
The central *Octagon*, from whatever point it is observed, groups well with the lines of the transept and nave, and with the transept turrets. The wide under portion is flat roofed, with low turrets at the angles; between which runs a pierced parapet. The very beautiful tracery of the windows in the smaller sides of the octagon should here be noticed from the exterior; as well as the arcade above, pierced with lights, for the inner roof, six in the larger sides, three in the smaller. The lantern rises in two stories, with slender buttresses at the angles. It is now (1862) in course of complete restoration, as a memorial of the late Dean Peacock; and will be surmounted, as it was originally, with a spire of wood, designed by Mr. G. G. Scott.

XXXI. Buttresses with high pinnacles rise between each bay of the Lady-chapel; above the east window of which is a series of niches, once filled with figures.

The *East End* of the cathedral itself (Bishop Hugh's work) is a grand example of Early English, [Plate IX.]; and rises in fine contrast with the short green turf, which closes quite up round it. Buttresses with niches and canopies rise on either side of the three tiers of windows, (the uppermost of which lights the roof,) the clustered shafts dividing which, with all their mouldings

and details, will amply repay notice. Remark also the varied forms of the foiled ornaments in the sprandrils and in the gable. The alterations made by Bishops Alcock and West at the extremities of the aisles may also be here observed.

Passing to the south side of the choir, remark the flying buttresses with their lofty pinnacles which unite the wall of the triforium with the clerestory. These are of Decorated character, and were no doubt added when the triforium itself was altered, early in the fourteenth century. (See § XVI.) The original form of the tri-



South Aisle of Choir.

forium windows may be seen in the two bays of the choir between the Decorated work and Bishop Hugh's. The change made here has already been pointed out from within. (§ XVI.) The eastern wall and window-openings of Bishop Hugh's triforium still remain in these two bays.

The Perpendicular window in the upper part of the south transept is curious, and should be noticed.

A passage or building connected with the cloisters seems to have existed at the south end of this transept. The *Cloisters* themselves stretched along under the south side of the nave, as usual. Their extent is marked by an arcade along the lower part of the wall; but the actual cloisters have long disappeared. Two Norman doorways, much enriched, open into the nave on this side of the church. That at the eastern end of the nave-aisle was the *Monks' entrance*, and has a trefoiled heading, with figures holding pastoral staves in the spandrils, and twisted dragons above. The foliage and mouldings, which are very rich and involved, indicate, like the heading of the doorway, its late or transitional character. The lower entrance, at the south-west angle of the cloisters, was the *Prior's door*, [*Title*,] and is far more elaborate than that of the monks. In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole, supported by angels.



The curious grotesques and ornaments deserve careful notice. Both doorways may be compared with the Norman work in the lower part of the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, which is of similar character, and nearly of the same date.

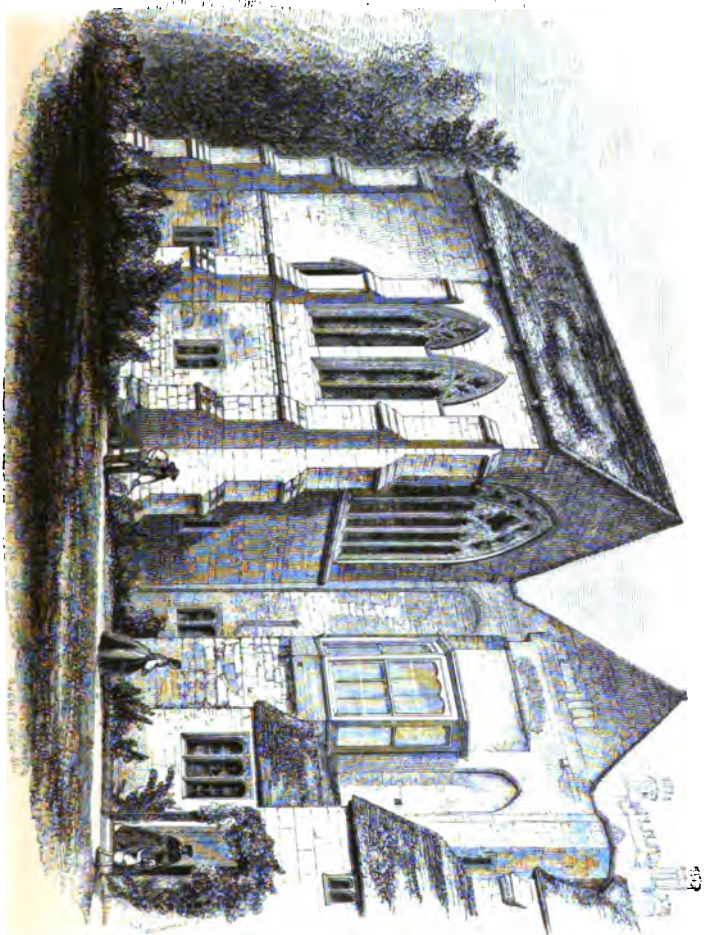
The exterior of the south-west transept indicates the different dates which have already been pointed out from within; (§ v.) The upper portion of the transept walls, and of the lofty octangular flanking turrets, are Early English, the lower part late Norman. Buttresses, flat in the under story, and passing first into double shafts and then into a single one, run up in the centre of each side, and divide the tiers of windows and blind arcades.

XXXII. The remains of the *Conventual Buildings* are extensive and interesting. The most ancient portions are a Norman crypt under part of the Prior's Lodge, and some Norman fragments in the wall stretching north of "Ely Porta" — the great gate of the monastery. The whole mass of the buildings, gray and picturesque, with their ivied walls, their green courts and gardens, covers a considerable space, and suggests the great size and importance of ancient Ely.

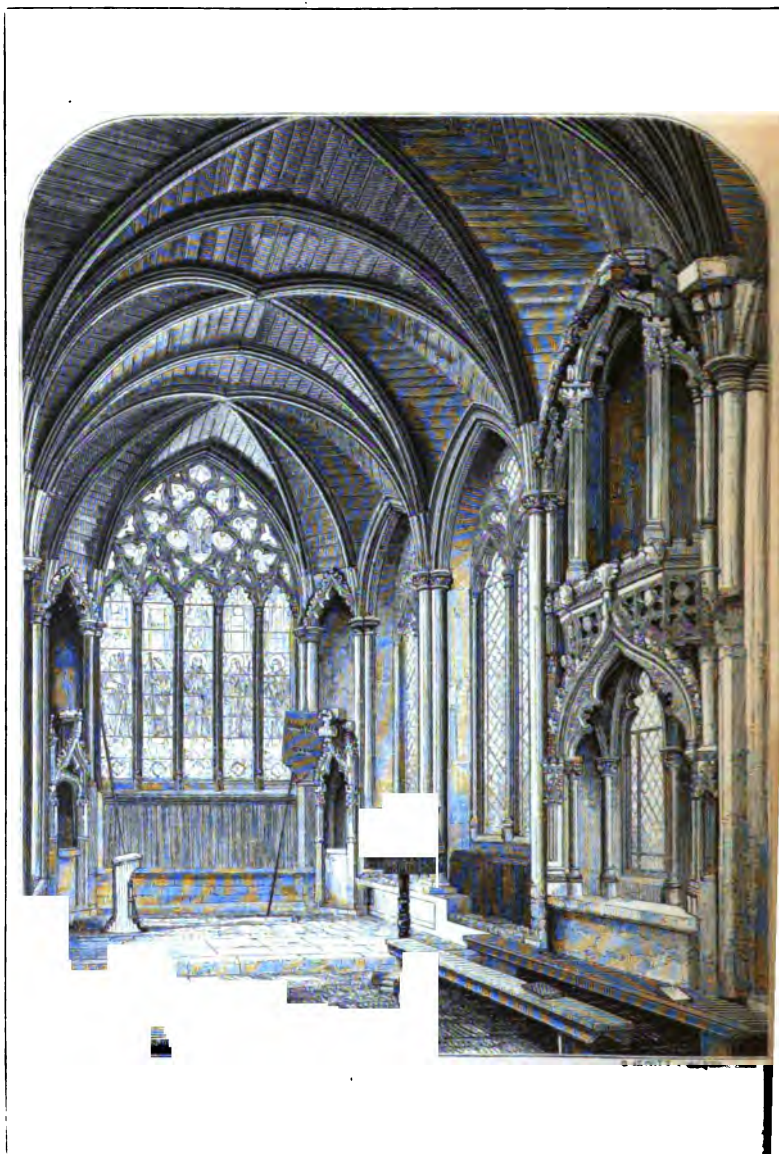
A short distance east of the south transept are the piers and arches of the *Infirmery*, of late Norman date. The mouldings of the arches and all the details deserve notice. At the west end are five Early English arches, now blocked up, each of which incloses a double arch, which is again subdivided into two. In the tympanum of the outer arch is a quatrefoil. A house on the north side is said to have been that of the sacrist, Alan of Walsingham, by whom it was built.

ELY CATHEDRAL.

PLATE X.







INTERIOR OF PRIOR CRAWDEN'S CHAPEL

The *Deanery* has been constructed from the ancient *Refectory*, dating from the thirteenth century, and still retaining its long roof, with a foiled opening in the upper part of the west wall. The *Prior's Lodge* extended beyond it, south; and was built round a small quadrangle. The high windows of the prior's great hall remain in a house adjoining *Prior Craudene's Chapel*, [Plate X.],—a small but very interesting Decorated building of four bays, founded by Prior John de Craudene, who died in 1441, and probably designed by Alan of Walsingham. The window tracery, the niches, and the ancient tiles at the altar should all be noticed. [Plate XI.] The chapel has been recently restored. In one of the *Canons' Houses* (lately occupied by Dr. Mill) is "perhaps the most magnificent example of a fourteenth-century fireplace in England. Its detail is very elaborate, and it has four beautiful brackets, which appear to have been intended for candlesticks".

At some distance south is "Ely Porta," the principal entrance to the monastery, built by Prior Buckton late in the fourteenth century. The room above the archways is appropriated to the use of the King's Grammar-school, founded in 1541 by Henry VIII., and placed under the control of the Dean and Chapter.

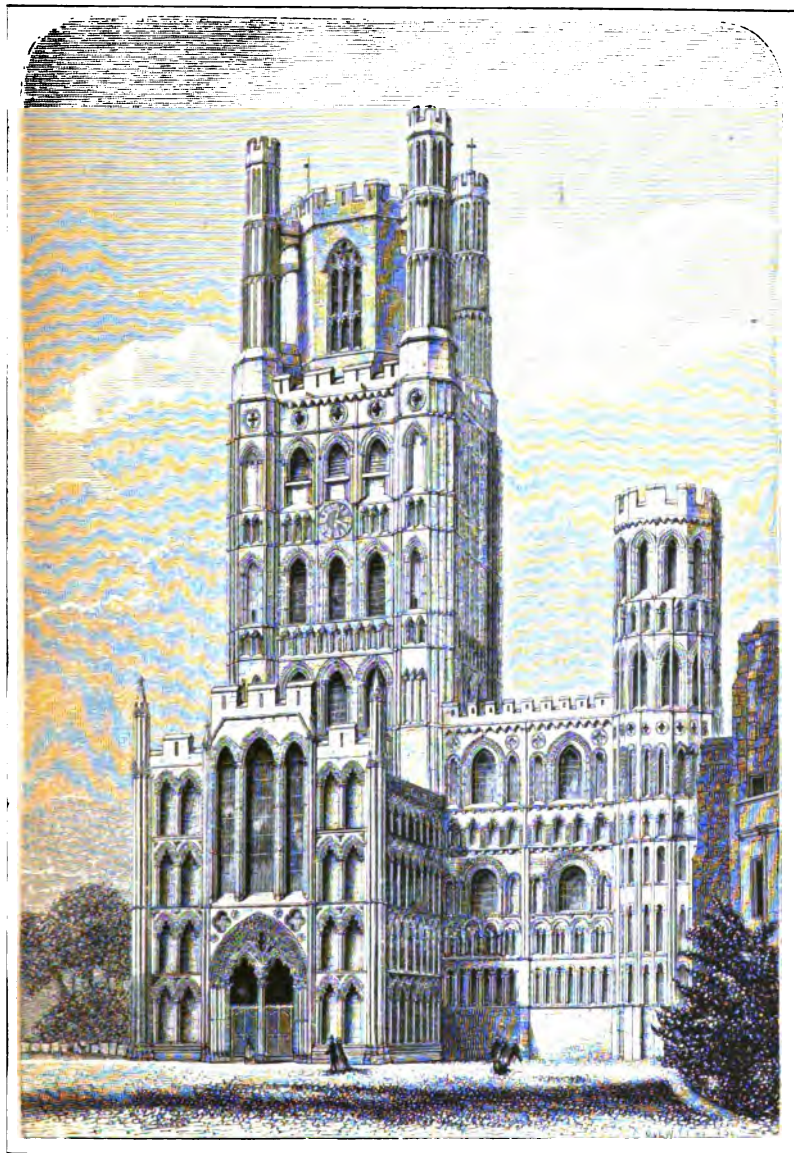
On the north side of the monastery an entrance remains beneath a tower opposite the Lady-chapel. Portions of the *sacristy*, and of the *almonry*, with some Early English vaulting, and a triplet window, adjoin this tower toward the east.

• Parker's Domestic Architecture, (Fourteenth Century,) p. 277.

XXXIII. The *Bishop's Palace*, west of the cathedral, dates for the most part from the time of Henry VII., of which it is a good example. The wings and hall were built by Bishop Alcock (1486—1501), whose arms are on the front of the eastern wing. The gallery adjoining the western wing was the work of Bishop Goodrich (1534—1554), *temp.* Edward VI.

In the palace is preserved the very curious "Tabula Eliensis;" a copy (which cannot be earlier than the time of Henry VII.) of one which formerly hung in the great hall of the monastery. The "Tabula" represents forty Norman knights, each in company with a monk, and each having his shield of arms above him, with his name and office. The knights are said to have been placed by the Conqueror in the monastery, after the taking of the Isle of Ely: they became so friendly with the monks, that on their departure the brethren "brought them as far as Haddenham in procession, with singing;" and afterwards placed the "Tabula" in their hall for a perpetual memory of their guests. The meaning and true history of the "Tabula" are quite uncertain, and can scarcely be even guessed at. None of the monastic historians of Ely refer to it. It will be found engraved in Bentham's "History of Ely," and in Fuller's "Church History."

XXXIV. The best *general view* of the west front will be obtained either from the end of the lawn fronting the Bishop's palace, or from a point at the side of the lawn, about halfway down. [Plate XII.] From the north-east corner of the Market-place there is a



THE WEST FRONT.

good view of the east end of the cathedral; and the south front of the west tower and transept rises very grandly above the road by which Ely is approached from the railway station. A striking view of the nave and western tower may be gained from the end of the lane of houses in which are the arches of the Infirmary; (§ XXXIII.) From this point the open spaces between the buttress-turrets, and the great western tower, as well as the open lancets of the turrets themselves, produce very striking effects.

Of the entire cathedral, the best general views are—from a bridge over the railway not far from the station, on the east side [*Frontispiece*], and that from a rising ground in the park, on the south side. The enormous length of the vast structure is well seen from here. There is an excellent distant view from Stuckney-hill, a slight rise on the Newmarket-road about two miles from Ely. The cathedral is as completely a landmark to the whole of the fen country as is the great tower of Mechlin to the lowlands of Brabant; and its glories, thus recorded in monastic verse, are still the pride of the entire district:—

“Hæc sunt Elyæ, Lanterna, Capella Mariæ,
Atque Molendinum, multum dans Vinea vinum.
Continet insontes, quos vallant undique pontes:
Hos ditant montes; nec desunt flumina, fontes.
Nomen ab angullâ ducit Insula nobilis illa.”

ELY CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

A MONASTERY for both men and women was founded at Ely by St. Etheldreda, in the year 673. It was destroyed during the great Danish invasion in 870; and in 970 was refounded by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, for Benedictine monks. In 1109 this monastery was made the seat of a new bishopric, taken out of the great diocese of Lincoln, and embracing the whole of Cambridgeshire.

St. Etheldreda*, the foundress of the original monastery, and one of the most celebrated of English saints, was the daughter of Anna, King of the East Anglians, who fell in battle with Penda of Mercia in the year 654. After his death his wife Hereswytha took refuge in the convent of Chelle, near Paris: and his four daughters, Sexburga, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga, all, at different periods, retired from the world, and became distinguished patronesses of the monastic life. Two years before her father's death Etheldreda had become the wife of Tondberct, "King" of the South Gyrvians, or "fenmen," (*gyr*, A.-S., 'a fen,') whose district lay in the border-land between Mercia and East Anglia. Etheldreda received from Tond-

* The best and earliest authority for the life of St. Etheldreda is Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. ch. xix. A life compiled in the twelfth century by Thomas of Ely is printed in the second volume of Mabillon's *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, and (partly) in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

beret the Isle of Ely as her dower; and on her husband's death, three years after her marriage, she retired there, induced as much by the solitude as by the protection afforded by the surrounding marshes. Her widowhood continued for five years, when she was again sought in marriage by Egfrid of Northumbria. Etheldreda is said to have made a vow of perpetual virginity, which was respected by both her husbands, and in the twelfth year of her marriage with Egfrid she obtained his leave to put into execution a long-formed project, and received the veil from the hands of Bishop Wilfrid, at Coldingham in Berwickshire, where St. Ebba, aunt of King Egfrid, had founded a monastery^b. Egfrid, however, soon repented of his permission, and set out for Coldingham with a band of followers, intending to take his Queen from the monastery by violence. By the advice of the Abbess, Etheldreda fled, to take refuge in her old home at Ely; and immediately on leaving the monastery, with her two attendant nuns, Sevensa and Severa, she climbed a hill named Colbert's Head, on which she was seen by Egbert and his followers. A miracle, however, was, according to the legend, wrought in her favour. The sea swept inland, and surrounded the hill, on which the three consecrated virgins remained in prayer for seven days, until Egbert, who had tried in vain to approach them, retired in despair. A spring of fresh water broke forth from the rock at the prayer of Etheldreda; and the ascend-

^b Dr. Hook's judgment of St. Etheldreda, although without doubt true in itself, seems hardly to make sufficient allowance for the difference between the seventh century and the nineteenth. "Her fanaticism had in it a tinge of insanity. In defiance of Scripture, of decency, and of common sense, she repudiated her marriage vow, and encouraged in her folly by the less excusable folly, if not worse, of Wilfrid, she determined to separate from her husband and become a nun. Egfrid, with whom the Archbishop of Canterbury (Theodorus) agreed, regarded the separation in the light of a divorce, and married again."—*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 150.

ing and descending footprints of the three nuns, "impressed on the hill side as on melted wax," were long afterwards appealed to in proof of the miracle. Continuing her flight to Ely, Etheldreda halted for some days at Altham, near Wintringham, where she founded a church; and near this place occurred the "miracle of her staff." Wearied with her journey, she one day slept by the wayside, having fixed her staff in the ground at her head. On waking she found the dry staff had burst into leaf; it became an ash tree, the "greatest tree in all that country;" and the place of her rest, where a church was afterwards built, became known as 'Etheldredeſtow.'

On her arrival at Ely, Etheldreda commenced (A.D. 673) the foundation of a monastery for both sexes, as was then not uncommon; the site of which she fixed at Cradendune, about a mile south of the existing cathedral, where, according to a later tradition, a church had been founded by St. Augustine. From this place, however, the building was almost at once removed to the high ground where the cathedral now stands,—from which the original church of St. Etheldreda was placed a short distance westward. St. Wilfrid, the famous Bishop of Northumbria, installed Etheldreda as abbess of the new community, which, with the exception of Peterborough, and perhaps of Thorney, was the earliest of the great monasteries of the fens^c. Etheldreda ruled it until 679, when her deathbed was attended by her "priest," Huna, who buried her in the churchyard of her monastery, and himself spent the rest of his life as a hermit, on one of the islands of the marshes^d.

^c The dates of the foundations of the principal fen-land monasteries are as follows:—Peterborough (Medeshamstede), A.D. 664; Thorney (Ancarig ?) circa 665 (?) if the charter inserted in the Bodleian MS. of the Saxon Chron. is to be trusted; Ely, 673; Crowland, 719; Ramsey, 974.

^d Now known as "Honey" (Huna's) Island, not far from Manea.

A remarkable miracle is recorded by Bede as having occurred in the year of her death. A youth named Ymma, who had been one of Etheldreda's house-thegns, was desperately wounded in a battle on the Trent, between Egfrid of Northumbria and Ethelred of Mercia. He lay senseless for a day and a night, and then, recovering, managed to drag himself from the battle-field, when he was taken prisoner by the Mercians. But no chains could bind him. They fell off perpetually at the "third hour of the day," when his brother Tunna, the abbot of a monastery, who thought him dead, used to say a mass for his soul. He was at last set free, and the merits of his former mistress, St. Etheldreda, were thought to have assisted in loosing the chains of the captive. Sexburga, sister of St. Etheldreda, who had married Ercconbert of Kent, and on his death had founded a monastery in the Isle of Sheppey, had withdrawn to Ely during Etheldreda's lifetime, and became abbess on her death. Sixteen years later she determined to translate the body of her sister into the church, and for this purpose sent out certain of the brethren to seek a block of stone from which a shrine might be made. They found a coffin of white marble among the ruins of Roman Grantchester, (close to Cambridge,) and in this the body of the Saint, which was found entire and incorrupt, was duly laid, and removed into the church*. Sexburga was afterwards herself interred near it, as was her daughter Ermenilda, the third abbess. The bodies of Sexburga and Ermenilda, both of whom were revered as saints, were afterwards enshrined, and were removed, together with that of St. Etheldreda, into the existing cathedral. The three abbesses,

* "Invenerunt juxta muros civitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum. . . . Mirum vero in modum ita aptum corpori virginis sarcophagum inventum est, ac si ei specialiter præparatum fuisset ; et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabricatus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit."—*Beda, H. E., lib. iv. ch. xix.*

together with St. Withburga, another sister of St. Etheldreda, who founded a monastery at Dereham in Norfolk, but whose relics were afterwards removed to Ely, were regarded as the especial patronesses of the Isle of Ely; and such was the sanctity conferred upon the soil by the holiness of their lives, and by the possession of their relics, that Thomas of Ely, who wrote the history of his monastery in the twelfth century, suggests, as a more fitting etymology than "eel's island," the Hebrew words *El*, 'God,' and *ge*, 'earth,' as though the island had been marked out from the beginning for God's especial service¹. The translation of St. Etheldreda, or St. Awdrey, as she was generally called, was celebrated on the 17th of October, when pilgrims flocked to her shrine from all quarters. A great fair was then held adjoining the monastery, at which silken chains or laces, called 'Etheldred's chains,' were sold, and displayed as 'signs' of pilgrimage. The word 'tawdry' (*St. Awdrey*) is said to be derived from these chains, and from similar 'flimsy and trivial' objects, sold at this fair.

St. Werburga, the fourth abbess, daughter of St. Ermenilda by King Wulfere of Mercia, was buried at Hanbury in Staffordshire, and was afterwards translated to Chester, of which church and monastery she became the great patroness. (See CHESTER CATHEDRAL.) She is the last abbess whose name is recorded. The monastery was destroyed during the Danish invasion of the year 870, when Crowland and Peterborough also perished; and although a body of secular clergy was soon afterwards established on its site, Ely had entirely lost its ancient importance, when the monastery was refounded in 970, by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who was also the restorer of Peterborough. Athelwold purchased the whole district of the Isle of Ely from King Eadgar, and settled it on his monastery, which he

¹ "Digne quidem Insula tali onomate signatur; quæ ab initio Christianitatis et fidei in Anglia Dominum Jesum Christum mox credere cepit et colere."—*Thomas Eliensis*, i. 83.

filled with Benedictines, over whom he placed Brythnoth, Prior of Winchester, as abbot. Among the king's gifts to the monastery were a golden cross filled with relics, which had been part of the Bishop's "purchase money," and his own royal mantle, of purple embroidered with gold.

From the year of this second foundation until the Conquest, Ely continued to increase in wealth and importance, and its abbots were among the most powerful Churchmen of their time. From the reign of Ethelred to the Conquest they were Chancellors of the King's Court alternately with the abbots of Glastonbury, and of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, each holding the office for four months. It was when approaching Ely at the Feast of the Purification, when the abbot entered on his office, that Knut is said to have composed the famous verse,—which, however, in its present form is at least two centuries later:—

"Merie sunge the Muneches binnan Ely
Tha Knut ching rew ther by.
Rowe ye onites noer the lant,
And here we thes Muneches sang."

The Atheling Alfred, son of Ethelred, after his seizure at Guildford in the year 1036, was conveyed to Ely, where his eyes were put out, and where he died. Some of the earlier years of the Confessor's life were spent in the Saxon monastery, on the altar of which he had been solemnly presented when an infant.

The history of the monastery, at the time of the Conquest, belongs to that of England. Thurstan, the abbot, was born at Wichford, near Ely, and had been brought up in the monastery from a child. He espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling; and from 1066, the year of the Conquest, to 1071, the island formed a Saxon stronghold, which was only taken at last with considerable difficulty. Hereward, the English champion, escaped at this time; but nearly

* "De qua Infula [a mitre] facta est."

all those who had taken refuge in the island fell into the hands of the Norman king. The Abbot had already become weary of the long resistance, and had visited William secretly at Warwick, in the hope of making his peace with him. He was condemned, however, to pay a fine of a thousand marks, and hardly escaped deposition at the council of Winchester. He died in 1072, the last Saxon abbot of Ely. Theodwin, a monk of Jumièges, and Godfrey, who had come to England with Theodwin, ruled the monastery in succession from 1072 to 1081, (the first alone with the title of abbot,) but without receiving the benediction and investiture. During Godfrey's government of the monastery, its ancient rights and privileges were judicially examined by a court held at Kentford on the Suffolk border, and all were restored to it entire, as in the year of King Edward's death. In 1081 Godfrey became Abbot of Malmesbury; and

[A.D. 1081—1093.] SIMON, brother of Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and a relative of the Conqueror, was appointed Abbot of Ely. Abbot Simeon recovered for his monastery the lands which had been allotted to the Normans during the siege of the island, and, like his brother Walkelin at Winchester, he laid the foundations of a new church. (Pt. I. § 1.) He died at the age of one hundred. On his death the temporalities of the monastery were seized by Ralph Flambard, the minister of Rufus, and no abbot was appointed until the accession of Henry I. in 1100; when

[A.D. 1100—1107.] RICHARD, son of Richard Earl of Clare, succeeded. He completed the eastern portion of the new church, (Pt. I. § 1.,) and removed into it (Oct. 17, 1106) the bodies of the sainted Abbesses, St. Etheldreda, Sexburga, Ermenilda, and Withburga. According to Thomas of Ely, Abbot Richard's church was one of the noblest in the kingdom. "Ut ad perficiendum idem opus (Ric. Abbas) studiosius insisteret, et huic operi solum vacaret, totum studium specialiter admovit; tamque decenti forma

et quantitate quantum potuit, quoad vixit, ecclesiam a predecessore suo inceptam edificavit ; ut si fama non invidet, et merito et veritatis titulo (utpote mendax veritatem non detrahat) in eodem Regno cunctis ecclesiis vel antiquitus constructis, vel nostro tempore renovatis, jure quodam compositionis et subtilis artificii privilegio et gratia ab intuentibus merito videatur preferenda.”—(*Lib. Eliensis*, ii. cap. 143.) The conversion of the abbey into an episcopal see was first suggested by Abbot Richard, and was only prevented by his death. He was, however, the last abbot. Hervé le Breton, Bishop of Bangor, who had fled from the dangers of Wales to the court of Henry, was appointed “Administrator” of the abbey, until the election of a new abbot. He found the monks not unfavourable to the proposed change, which the King also approved. The consent of the Bishop of Lincoln was procured by the grant to his see of the manor of Spaldwick, belonging to the abbey ; and in 1108, the Council of London, presided over by Archbishop Anselm, consented to the creation of the new bishopric. Hervé himself proceeded to Rome for the Papal confirmation of the see, with which he returned in 1109 ; and on June 27, in that year, he was himself translated from Bangor, as the first Bishop of Ely. Constant disputes with the Bishop of Lincoln, concerning his rights over the monastery, were perhaps the earliest inducements to the creation of the new see ; but the great size of the diocese of Lincoln is expressly mentioned in the letters of the King and of Anselm to the Pope, Paschal II. ; and it is also said that the King, (Henry I.,) aware how strongly the Isle of Ely was fortified by nature, was anxious to divide the great revenues of the abbey, and thereby to render it less powerful in case of insurrection, by placing a bishop at its head.

The constitution of Ely, after its erection into a bishopric, resembled that of the other conventual cathedrals of England,—Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Bath,

Rochester, Norwich, and Durham; in all which sees the bishops were also regarded as, in effect, abbots of the conventual establishments attached to them^b. The immediate government of the monks, however, devolved on the prior, whose place in the choir was the first stall on the left hand. The bishop retained that on the right hand, which he had already occupied as abbot. The full number of monks in the abbey was seventy, but this was rarely complete. The election of the bishop lay, nominally, with the prior and the monks, but was in fact constantly interfered with by king and pope, as elsewhere¹.

[A.D. 1109—1131.] HERVE LE BRETON, the first Bishop of Ely, was greatly occupied in arranging the government of this see, which he left "possessed of much greater privileges, rights, and immunities than most others in the kingdom^b." He divided the lands and revenues of the monastery between himself and the monks,—not altogether to the satisfaction of the latter; and "discharged himself and his successors from any obligation to support, build, or repair the fabric of the church, or any part thereof, leaving it entirely to the care of the monks¹." Succeeding bishops, however, as we have seen, (Pt. I.,) notwithstanding this "discharge," contributed largely toward the repair and rebuilding of their cathedral.

[A.D. 1133—1169.] NIGEL, Treasurer of Henry I., and nephew of the powerful Bishop Roger of Salisbury, (see that Cathe-

^b "In Anglia sunt hodie xvii Episcopatus: in octo eorum sunt Monachi in sedibus Episcopalibus. Hoc in aliis provinciis aut nusquam aut raro invenies; sed ideo in Anglia hoc reperitur, quia primi prædicatores Anglorum S. Augustinus, Mellitus, Justus, Laurentius Monachi fuerant. In aliis novem Episcopalibus sedibus, Canonici seculares."—*Annal. Waverleiensis*, ad ann. 1152.

¹ "The custom of this convent was for the whole body to elect seven as their proctors; after which these seven proceeded to the election of the bishop."—*Bentham's Ely*, p. 149.

^b Bentham's Ely.

¹ Id.

dral, Pt. II.,) was consecrated to the see of Ely after it had been vacant for nearly two years. Like Bishop Roger, Nigel was immersed in the troubles and intrigues of the reign of Stephen, whom he at first supported. At the council of Oxford in 1139, however, when Stephen, who seems to have feared their joining the side of Matilda, seized the bishops of Sarum and Lincoln, he would also have seized Bishop Nigel of Ely, had he not managed to escape to the castle of Devizes, then belonging to the Bishop of Sarum. Stephen laid siege to the castle, and threatened Nigel with the deaths of Bishop Roger and his son, if it were not at once surrendered. Nigel consented to the surrender on condition of his own liberty, and he withdrew to Ely, where he was joined by some of Matilda's adherents, and prepared to defend the place. But Stephen followed so rapidly that the Isle was surprised before Nigel could make any resistance. He himself escaped and joined the Empress Matilda at Gloucester. On Stephen's capture at Lincoln, Nigel recovered his see, and contrived to retain it until the King's death, in 1154. Henry II. made him one of his Barons of the Exchequer, "as he was judged to have most exact knowledge and skill in the forms and proceedings of that court," which he restored from the confusion into which it had fallen during the previous reign. At Ely Bishop Nigel built a castle, of which no traces remain; and at Cambridge he founded a hospital in honour of St. John the Evangelist, which continued under the care of his successors until 1510, when the lands and site of it were surrendered to the executors of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who established on this foundation the present College of St. John.

[A.D. 1174—1189.] GEOFFREY RIDDELL, Archdeacon of Canterbury, succeeded after a vacancy of four years. His adherence to the King's side during the struggle with Becket, and his excommunication by the Archbishop, who writes of him as "archidiabolus noster, haud archidiaco-

nus," rendered it necessary for him, on his election, to take an oath that he had "in no way contributed to the death of the Archbishop." Bishop Geoffry continued in high favour with the King, Henry II., after his elevation to the see of Ely. In 1179 he was made Chief of the King's Itinerant Justices in Cambridgeshire and seven adjoining counties. He was one of the executors of King Henry's will; and died at Winchester, whilst waiting there to receive the new King, Richard Cœur de Lion, on his arrival in England. At Ely, Bishop Geoffry carried on the "new work," and the western tower. (Pt. I. § 4.)

[A.D. 1189—1197.] WILLIAM LONGCHAMP, the Chancellor and Grand Justiciary of Richard I., who procured from the Pope Bishop William's nomination as Papal Legate, but not before he had paid a thousand marks for the dignity. On Richard's departure for the East, the Bishops of Ely and of Durham were entrusted with the government of the kingdom south and north of the Trent. Longchamp, however, soon after the King's departure, arrested his colleague; and "assuming the utmost pomp and state, treated the kingdom as if it were his own, bestowing all places in Church and State on his relations and dependents." After a struggle with Prince John, the Bishop shut himself up in the Tower of London, (which he had surrounded with a deep foss, to be flooded from the Thames,) but was compelled to fly thence to Dover, where, as he was waiting on the beach, disguised as a woman, for the ship in which he was to cross the channel, he was discovered, and imprisoned in the castle. On the intercession of other English bishops, however, he was released, and passed to Normandy, where he remained until Richard's return. In spite of the character given by most of the chroniclers to William Longchamp, he found able defenders in his own time, amongst whom were Peter of Blois, and Nigel Wireker, the monk of Canterbury, both of whom praise his justice and his gentleness. It is, moreover, not a little in his

favour that Richard at once restored him to his confidence, and re-appointed him Chancellor, which office he held until his death at Poitiers in 1197, whilst proceeding on an embassy to the Pope. He was buried in a Cistercian abbey named Pinu (?); but his heart was brought to Ely, and entombed before the altar of St. Martin.

[A.D. 1198—1215.] EUSTACE, Treasurer of York, and Dean of Salisbury, an especial favourite of King Richard, who made him his Chancellor on the death of William Longchamp, was elected Bishop of Ely, at Walderoil, in Normandy, by the Prior and Convent, summoned thither for this purpose by the King. He was one of the three bishops who (March 24, 1208) published the famous Interdict of Pope Innocent III. With the Bishops of London and Worcester, Eustace at once fled the kingdom, but returned with Stephen Langton in the following year, at John's request, in order to attempt an arrangement, which failed, and the Bishop of Ely again left England. He returned with the other bishops, after John's submission, on St. Margaret's Day, (July 20, 1212.) Two years afterwards (Feb. 1215) Bishop Eustace died at Reading, and was interred in his own cathedral. The Galilee, or western porch, at Ely, was his work. (Pt. I. § III.)

On the death of Eustace, the monks elected Geoffry de Burgh, Archdeacon of Norwich, but revoked his election before it was published, and chose ROBERT OF YORK, whom the King (John) refused to confirm. Robert, however, held the see, without consecration, for nearly five years, assuming to himself all the rights which belonged to it. He was a partizan of Lewis of France, and on the death of John crossed the channel, and "published false rumours of the King's death, to raise disturbances in this kingdom, and promote an invasion." A letter was accordingly despatched in the name of the young King, to the Pope, entreating him to annul Robert's election, and to provide a proper person for the see, since the Isle of Ely

was the strongest place in the kingdom, and there was danger that Robert would give it into the hands of Lewis^m. Accordingly,

[A.D. 1223—1225.] JOHN PHERD, (John de Fontibus,) Abbot of Fountains, was preferred to the see by Papal authority.

[A.D. 1225—1228.] GEOFFREY DE BURGH, who had been elected five years before, succeeded. He was brother of the famous Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, and is said to have been a man of considerable learning.

[A.D. 1229—1254.] HUGH NORWOLD, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, had been one of the King's Itinerant Justices for Norfolk, in 1227; and in 1235, after he became bishop of Ely, was sent ambassador, with others, to Raymond of Provence, to conclude a contract of marriage between his daughter Eleanor, and the young King, Henry III. Matthew Paris, his contemporary, especially praises the piety, hospitality, and liberality to the poor, of Bishop Hugh, who did much for his see, and for the convent. The presbytery or eastern portion of the cathedral was his work. (Pt. I. § XVI.) At the dedication feast (Sept. 1252) he entertained magnificently the King, Prince Edward his son, and a great company of nobles and prelates. The shrines and relics of the sainted abbesses were solemnly translated into Bishop Hugh's new building, and he was himself buried behind the high altar, at the feet of St. Etheldreda. His remarkable monument has been already described. (Pt. I. § XX.)

[A.D. 1255—1256.] WILLIAM DE KILKENNY, Archdeacon of Coventry and Chancellor, was consecrated at Belley, in Savoy, by Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury. He resigned the office of Chancellor on becoming Bishop of Ely. Bishop William was highly distinguished as a canonist and

^m "Certum est enim, quod civitas Elyensis est optima munitio regni nostri; et quod dictus Robertus ibi extitit preintrusus, ut, sicut res se habuit, reciperetur ibi Dominus Ludovicus."—*Rymer, Fœdera*, I. p. 229.

civilian; and in 1256 was sent to negotiate a treaty between Henry III. and Alfonso of Castile, which he lived just long enough to complete. He died on the 22nd of September in that year, at Segovia, where he was buried. His heart was brought to Ely, and deposited on the north side of the presbytery, where his cenotaph, with effigy, remains. (Pt. I. § 20.)

[A.D. 1257—1286.] HUGH DE BALSHAM, sub-prior of Ely, was chosen by the monks in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had recommended Henry de Wingham, his Chancellor. The King accordingly refused to confirm the election, although the Chancellor consented to withdraw his pretensions. The King then endeavoured to get Adam de Marisco elected, a Franciscan whose learning had brought him into great repute at Oxford. Hugh, however, appealed to Rome, and obtained the confirmation of his election from the Pope, Alexander IV., by whom he was consecrated.

Hugh de Balsham is best remembered for his foundation of the first endowed college in Cambridge; in direct imitation of that which his contemporary, Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, had just founded at Oxford. (See ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.; WALTER DE MERTON.) The statutes of Merton College, Oxford, were ratified by the founder and the King in 1274. In 1280 Bishop Hugh obtained a licence from Edward I., for founding a college of students in Cambridge, "*secundum regulam scholarium Oxon. qui de Merton cognominantur.*" He at first intended to have converted the hospital of St. John, founded by his predecessor, Bishop Nigel, into a college; but changing his plan, he placed his scholars in "hostels," near St. Peter's Church, which he assigned to their use. The college subsequently became known as St. Peter's College, or "Peter House." The University celebrated annually a solemn commemoration of Bishop Hugh's death which occurred in 1286. He was buried in his own cathedral, before the high altar.

[A.D. 1286—1290.] JOHN DE KIRKBY, Treasurer of Edward I., was only in deacon's orders when elected. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Peckham at Faversham, (Sept. 21,) and consecrated the day after at Canterbury. As Treasurer, John de Kirkby was arbitrary and exacting, and in 1289, when the Parliament refused to grant an aid in discharge of the King's expenses in France, until Edward himself returned, the Treasurer levied heavy contributions throughout the kingdom, on his own authority. Such exactions were afterward rendered unlawful by the statute 25 Edw. I. (1297), which renounced as precedents the "aids, tasks, and prises" before taken, and decreed that they should be no more taken "but by the common assent of the realm." Bishop John died at Ely, and was interred in his own cathedral.

[A.D. 1290—1298.] WILLIAM DE LUDA, (of Louth); although Archdeacon of Durham, was not in deacon's orders when elected. After his ordination as deacon and priest, by Archbishop Peckham, he was consecrated bishop in St. Mary's Church in Ely, where a provincial council was being held, concerning a subsidy to be granted to the King by the clergy. Bishop William was Treasurer of the King's Wardrobe, and is called by T. Wikes, a contemporary historian, "*vir magnificus et eminentis scientiæ.*" In 1296 the Bishop of Ely was one of the commissioners appointed to settle the conditions of a truce between France and England; and in 1297, after the King (Edw. I.) had ordered the temporalities of the clergy to be seized, (see CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II., ARCHBISHOP WINCHELSEA,) Bishop William was one of the chief mediators between the clergy and the King, (who was himself at Ely in that year,) and is said to have arranged the payment of the fifths by the former. The Bishop died March 27, 1298. His beautiful tomb remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xix.)

* Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. p. 3. (ed. 1855.)

[A.D. 1299—1302.] RALPH WALPOLE was translated to Ely from Norwich, by the authority of the Pope, after the convent had been unable to agree in their election. As Bishop of Norwich, Bishop Ralph had enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety, and at Ely he revised the statutes of the convent, making some additions of his own. He was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1302—1310.] ROBERT DE ORFORD, Prior of the Convent, was consecrated at Rome, where he had gone to procure the confirmation of his election from the Pope. He was buried in his cathedral.

[A.D. 1310—1316.] JOHN DE KETENE (Keeton), had been Almoner of Ely. During his episcopate the Bishop of Glasgow, who had been sent to Rome to answer for his disloyalty to Edward II., was sent back to England by the Pope to be "kept in safe custody" until peace should be restored between England and Scotland. He was retained for some time at Ely. Bishop John was interred in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1316—1337.] JOHN HOTHAM, Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time of his election, and one of the most distinguished benefactors of the church of Ely, had been much employed in public business, and on foreign embassies, before he became Bishop of Ely. In 1317, the year after his consecration, he was made Treasurer of the Exchequer, and in the following year Lord Chancellor. At the fight of Myton-upon-Swale, (Oct. 1319,) when the English were routed by the Scots, under Robert Bruce, the Bishop narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He was afterwards appointed one of the commissioners who arranged a truce with the Scots for two years; and in 1323 received the King's commission for settling the affairs of Gascony, then in great disorder. Bishop Hotham joined Queen Isabella on her landing (Sept. 1326) at Orwell in Suffolk; and in January 1327, after the abdication of Edward II., the Great Seal was again delivered

to the Bishop of Ely, who "caused to be engraven, on the lower part of it, two flowers of the arms of France *."

During his first chancellorship, Bishop Hotham obtained from Edward II. a confirmation of all the former rights and liberties of the church of Ely; and in 1329 he procured a grant from the Crown to the prior and convent, entitling them to the custody of the see on every vacancy, during which time they were to receive the profits. He bought for the see much land adjoining the manor of Holborn, which had been given to the see by Bishop John de Kirkeby, and which from this time became one of the chief palaces of the bishop of Ely. During his episcopate the beautiful Lady-chapel was begun (1321) at Ely, (Pt. I. § xxvii.); and the lower part of the octagon was completed, together with much of the woodwork of the lantern. (Pt. I. § xi.) The cost of these great works was chiefly defrayed by the convent; but Bishop Hotham, at his death, left money for the rebuilding of the first three bays of the choir, which had been ruined by the fall of the tower. (Pt. I. § xv.)

Bishop Hotham died at Somersham, January 14, 1337, and was interred in his cathedral, behind the altar of the choir, ("ad partem orientalem altaris in choro, versus magnum altare"). The shrines of St. Etheldreda and the three Abbesses were placed between two altars—the high altar at the extreme east end of the cathedral, and the "altar of the choir," which stood nearly at the junction of Bishop Hugh's work and Bishop Hotham's. It has already (Pt. I. § xx.) been suggested that the upper part of Bishop Hotham's monument may have served as a watching-chamber for the shrines. It has been stripped of its ornaments and figures, which are thus described:—"Ipse autem sepultus est . . . sub quadam pulchra structura lapidea, cum imagine Episcopi de alabastro, super tumulum ipsius erecta, cum 7 candelabris ex uno stipide decentissime procedenti-

* Bentham, from Rymer, *Fœd.*, iv. p. 243.

bus ; et circa siquidem imagines de creatione hominis et ejectione ejusdem de Paradiso ; quatuor etiam imagines regum armatorum, et 4 dracones [banners] ad 4 partes ejusdem structuræ ?”

[A.D. 1337—1345.] SIMON DE MONTACUTE was translated from Worcester. The convent had elected their prior, John de Craudene, a man of great worth,—whose brass has already been noticed, (Pt. I. § XVII.) ; but their proceedings were set aside by the bull of Pope Benedict XII., which directed the translation to Ely of the Bishop of Worcester. Bishop Simon was a younger brother of William Lord Montacute, the first Earl of Salisbury of that creation, who was advanced to his new dignity in the same year (1337) in which his brother was translated to Ely. During this Bishop's episcopate the lantern of the octagon and the new portion of the choir were completed, and the Lady-chapel was in progress. This, however, was not completed until 1349. Toward this work the Bishop gave large sums, and was buried before the altar of the new chapel.

[A.D. 1345—1361.] THOMAS DE LISLE, intruded by the Pope, Clement VI., in place of Alan de Walsingham, Prior of the Convent, and architect of the octagon, whom the monks had elected. He had been Prior of the Dominicans at Winchester, and was at Avignon on a mission to the Pope from Edward III., when the vacancy of the see of Ely was announced. In accordance with the policy of Edward III. (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II., ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD,) Bishop de Lisle was compelled, on his return to England, to “make a formal renunciation of all words contained in the Pope's bull of provision that were prejudicial to the King and the rights of his crown, and to declare that the holding the temporalities of the see proceeded of the King's grace and favour, and not by any authority from the Pope.” Bishop de Lisle was a haughty and magnificent

† *Hist. Eliensis, ap. Angl. Sacr.*, i. 648.

‡ Bentham, p. 160.

prelate, little in favour either with his convent or with the King. He is said, however, to have been an able preacher, and to have been zealous in discharging this duty of his office throughout his diocese:—"Egregius namque prædicator extitit; et per varia loca suæ dioceseos discurrens, velut fidelis dispensator et prudens, familiæ Dominicæ mensuram tritici distribuendo, verbum Dei in populo sibi commisso ferventi animo disseminavit." At Bishop de Lisle's consecration a glass vessel full of wine which stood on the altar broke suddenly,—"*sine tangentis manu*;" an omen, according to the chronicler, of the troubles he was to endure as bishop. For the greater part of his episcopate he was engaged in constant disputes with Blanche Lady Wake, a daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and a powerful adversary. Her estates in Huntingdonshire adjoined the Bishop's manors; and questions of "*limits and boundaries*" led at last to manslaughter, to the loss of the King's favour, and to the Bishop's summons to the bar of the King's Bench. Bishop de Lisle, dreading imprisonment, fled to the Pope at Avignon, where, whilst the questions were still in debate, he died, (June 1361,) and was buried in a house of Dominican nuns there.

On his death the Pope appointed Reginald Brian, Bishop of Worcester, to the see of Ely, who died of the plague before his translation. The convent then elected, by royal licence, John Bockingham, Keeper of the Privy Seal; but the Pope by another provision appointed

[A.D. 1362, translated to Canterbury 1366,] SIMON LANGHAM, Abbot of Westminster, and Treasurer of England. It was on his translation to Canterbury, in 1366, that the monastic rhymes appeared:—

"*Exultant cœli quia Simon venit ab Ely
Cujus in adventum fient in Kent millia centum.*"

(See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.)

* *Hist. Eliensis, ap. Angl. Sacr.*, i. 655.

[A.D. 1366—1373.] JOHN BARNET, Bishop of Worcester in 1362, and translated to Bath in the following year, was, when very old and infirm, translated to Ely, by papal provision. During his episcopate the King replaced the stock and “*implementa episcopatus*,” on the ten chief manors or palaces belonging to the see of Ely*, which had been made away with in the last five years of Bishop de Lisle’s life, whilst he was at Avignon and the temporalities were in the King’s hands. The bishops were, henceforth, compelled to take an oath, at the west door of their cathedral, on the day of enthronization, to leave this stock entire, or its value, to their successors.

Bishop Barnet died at Hatfield in 1373, and was buried at Ely, where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § XIX.)

[A.D. 1374, translated to York 1388.] THOMAS FITZ-ALAN OF ARUNDEL. In 1386, whilst still Bishop of Ely, Arundel was made Lord Chancellor. During his holding of the see, he nearly rebuilt the palace in Holborn. In 1388 he was translated to York, and thence, in 1396, to Canterbury. (See that Cathedral, Pt. II.) As archbishop, Arundel is chiefly memorable for his persecution of the Lollards. He died Feb. 1414.

[A.D. 1388—1425.] JOHN FORDHAM was translated by Urban VI. to Ely, from Durham, to which he had been appointed by the Pope in 1381. The translation was not to the Bishop’s advantage, since Durham was a see of far more wealth and importance than Ely. Little is recorded of this Bishop during his long episcopate of thirty-seven years.

[A.D. 1426—1435.] PHILIP MORGAN was translated by papal provision from Worcester. He was an eminent civilian, and had been chaplain to Henry V., who had employed

* These were—the palace at Ely; Ely-house, Holborn; Bishop’s Hatfield and Hadham, in Hertfordshire; Somersham, in Huntingdonshire; Balsham and Ditton, in Cambridgeshire; Downham, Wisbeach Castle, and Doddington, in the Isle of Ely.

him on many embassies. During his episcopate the University of Cambridge claimed entire freedom from the bishop's jurisdiction, on the authority of two bulls, of Honorius I. (A.D. 624) and of Sergius I. (A.D. 689); of which they judiciously professed to have only copies. The University appealed to Pope Martin V., who appointed the Prior of Barnwell, and John Deping, Canon of Lincoln, to determine the matter. Their sentence, afterwards confirmed by Pope Eugenius IV., was in favour of the University.

[A.D. 1438—1443.] LOUIS DE LUXEMBURG, Archbishop of Rouen, who had long supported the English interests in France, was, at the recommendation of Henry VI., appointed by the Pope "perpetual administrator" of the see of Ely, after the convent had elected Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Worcester; whose election (although the Pope had at first confirmed it) was annulled. Louis de Luxemburg was the brother of the Count of St. Paul; and had been Chancellor of France and of Normandy, for Henry VI., under the Regent Bedford. The Regent, on the death of his first wife, married Jaquette, daughter of the Count of St. Paul, and niece of the Bishop[†], who in 1436 was elected Archbishop of Rouen. From this see, however, he probably had little benefit; since, on the decline of the English influence in France, he withdrew from the latter country, and established himself in England; where in 1438 he was placed in full possession of the "temporalities and spiritualities" belonging to the see of Ely. In 1439 he was created cardinal-priest by the Pope, Eugenius IV.; and in 1442 cardinal-bishop. He was hardly ever resident in his diocese, the affairs of which he regulated by his vicar-general.

Cardinal de Luxemburg died at Hatfield Sept. 1443. His bowels were interred in the church there; his heart

[†] After the death of the Regent Bedford, his widow married Sir Richard Wodeville, (Earl of Rivers,) by whom she was the mother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV.

was deposited in his metropolitan church at Rouen; and his body at Ely, on the south side of the presbytery, "near the altar of relics," where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § XXIII.)

[A.D. 1443, translated to Canterbury 1454]. THOMAS BOURCHIER, whom the monks had before elected, was now translated to Ely from Worcester. The convent, however, seems to have repented of its choice. "We only gathered from him flowers instead of fruit," says the monk who writes his life, "as from a useless tree. Except on the day of his installation he would never celebrate mass or solemn service in his cathedral." For his life as Archbishop, see CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II. His death occurred in 1486. His episcopate of fifty-one years, as Bishop of Worcester and Ely, and as Archbishop, was one of the longest on record in the English Church*.

[A.D. 1454—1478.] WILLIAM GRAY, the King's Procurator at Rome, was appointed by Pope Nicholas V., on the recommendation of Henry VI. Bishop Gray was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, to which he was afterwards a considerable benefactor; (the library was partly built by him, and furnished with books;) and in 1440 he was Chancellor of that University. On his return from Rome he was made Treasurer of England. In 1467 he was Edward the Fourth's commissioner for arranging a peace between that

* *Ang. Sac.*, i. 671.

* In the notice of Archbishop Bouchier (CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.) his episcopate is said to have been the longest on record in the English Church. This is an error. It was the longest up to that time: but has since been exceeded in length by those of John Hough, (1690—1743,) Bishop successively of Oxford, Lichfield, and Worcester—53 years: of Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, (Jan. 1698—March 1755,)—57 years; of Shute Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Durham, (Oct. 1769—March 1826,)—56 years and 6 months; and of E. V. Vernon Harcourt, Bishop of Carlisle and Archbishop of York, (November 1791—November 1847,) 56 years. Bishop Wilson's is therefore the longest English episcopate.

king and Henry of Castile; and in 1471, 1472, and 1473 he was the chief English commissioner for treating of peace with James III. of Scotland. Bishop Gray died at Downham in 1478, and was interred in his cathedral, where his monument, stripped of its effigy and brasses, remains. (Pt. I. § xxii.)

The strengthening of the western tower (Pt. I. §§ iv. xxx.) was effected during the episcopate of this Bishop, who gave largely toward the work.

[A.D. 1479, translated to Canterbury 1486.] JOHN MORTON; who was made in the same year (1479) Lord Chancellor. His learning as a civilian early brought him into notice; and he was especially patronized by Archbishop Bouchier, whom he succeeded. It was this bishop who was sent to the Tower by Richard III. when Protector; and his subsequent services to Henry VII., when still Earl of Richmond, procured his nomination to the primacy. A longer notice of Archbishop Morton will be found in CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, (Pt. II.)

As Bishop of Ely, Morton attempted one of the first works on a large scale with a view to a thorough drainage of that part of the fens called the North Level. The canal or cut which he caused to be dug, for a distance of forty miles, from near Peterborough to the sea, by Guyhirne and Wisbeach, is still called by his name, "Morton's Seam." "He had a lofty brick tower built at Guyhirne, where the waters met, and 'up into that tower he would often go to oversee and set out the works.' This Bishop was the first to introduce into the district the practice of making straight cuts and artificial rivers for the purpose of more rapidly voiding the waters of the fens—a practice which has been extensively adopted by the engineers of the present day."

A curious account of Morton's installation as Bishop of Ely, when he walked barefoot for two miles from his palace

at Downham to his cathedral, "*in rochetto, cum bediis in manu sua, dicendo orationes Dominicas per viam,*" and of the subsequent feast at the palace, will be found in Bentham's History of Ely, (Appendix, xxix., xxx).

[A.D. 1486—1500.] JOHN ALCOCK, one of the best architects of his time, and Controller of the royal works and buildings under Henry VII., was translated to Ely from Worcester. He was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. In 1462 he was appointed Master of the Rolls; and after serving on different embassies, was created Bishop of Rochester in 1472. Thence in 1476 he was translated to Worcester; and in 1486 became Bishop of Ely. By Edward IV. he had been appointed "*præceptor*" to the young prince, afterwards Edward V.; but was removed from his office by the Protector Richard.

At Cambridge, Bishop Alcock procured the suppression of the nunnery of St. Radegund, which had become conspicuous for its irregularities; and founded in its stead the college now known as Jesus College. He built much at all his manors; and constructed a great hall and gallery (now destroyed) in his palace at Ely. His beautiful chapel has been described, (Pt. I. § xxiii.)

Bishop Alcock died at Wisbeach Castle, Oct. 1, 1500.

[A.D. 1501—1505.] RICHARD REDMAN had been Abbot of Shap, in Westmoreland, and in 1471 was made Bishop of St. Asaph, where he rebuilt the cathedral, which had been burnt by Owen Glendower about 1404: (see ST. ASAPH.) Bishop Redman became entangled in the affairs of Lambert Simnell in 1487; but seems to have acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Henry VII., who made him one of the commissioners for the peace with Scotland in 1492, and in 1495 translated him to Exeter; thence in 1501 he passed to Ely.

Through whatever towns Bishop Redman passed on his journeys, if he remained so long as one hour, he caused a bell to be rung that the poor might come and partake of

his charity, which he distributed largely. His monument remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XX.)

[A.D. 1506—1515.] JAMES STANLEY was the third son of Thomas Stanley, created Earl of Derby in 1485. He died, according to Godwin, "without performing any one thing deserving to be remembered;" and it is true that his moral conduct, in Bentham's word, "will by no means bear the strictest scrutiny." He built a manor-house at Somersham, however, for the see, and did much for the collegiate church at Manchester, (see MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL,) where he died, (March, 1515,) and was buried. A MS. history of the house of Derby, quoted by Bentham, thus concludes the life of Bishop Stanley:—

"Hee did end his life at merrie Manchester,
And right honourable lies buried there,
In his chappell, which he began of free stone.
Sir John Staudeley made it out, when he was gone.
God send his soul to the heavenlie companie!
Farewell, godlie James, Bisshoppe of Elie!"

[A.D. 1515—1533.] NICHOLAS WEST, son of a baker at Putney, early became distinguished for his knowledge of civil and canon law, and was patronized by Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. He was throughout his life much employed in public affairs and on embassies, under Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; the latter of whom he attended at the "Camp Drap d'Or." In 1515 he was made Bishop of Ely, and is said to have lived in greater splendour than any other prelate of his time, having more than one hundred servants. Two hundred poor were daily relieved at his gate. His learning and acquirements were very considerable, and are especially praised by Bishop Fisher. He was a zealous advocate on the side of Queen Catherine; and the loss of the King's favour on that account is said to have hastened his death, which occurred April 28, 1533.

At Putney, his native place, he built a chantry adjoining

the parish church, which still remains. His superb chapel in the cathedral has been noticed, (Pt. I. § XXIV.)

[A.D. 1534—1554.] THOMAS GOODRICH, son of Edward Goodrich, of East Kirby in Lincolnshire, was educated at Cambridge, where he soon became eminent as a canonist and civilian. In 1529 he was appointed one of the University syndics, to report concerning the lawfulness of the King's divorce, which he supported; and after more than one lesser preferment, was by the King's favour (whose chaplain he had become) advanced to the see of Ely.

Bishop Goodrich was a zealous supporter of the Reformation; and the general injunctions (1541) for the removal of images, relics, and shrines, were executed with great speed and decision in his cathedral and throughout his diocese. The great shrines of St. Etheldreda, and of the three other sainted abbesses, were at this time removed and destroyed. In 1540 the Bishop of Ely was appointed by Convocation one of the revisers of the New Testament; and the Gospel of St. John fell to his share. In 1548 he was one of the "notable learned men" associated with Cranmer about the "Order of Communion"—the first form of the English Office in the Book of Common Prayer*. He was a member of the Privy Council under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and was employed on several embassies, and on much state business. In 1551 he was made Lord Chancellor; an office which he held until the accession of Mary in 1553, when the seals were taken from him, although he was allowed to retain his bishopric. His arms remain in the oriel of the gallery in the palace, which he largely repaired and adorned. His brass—a very interesting example of the episcopal vestments of this period—remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXVI.)

[A.D. 1554—1570.] THOMAS THIRLBY had been appointed by

* Procter on the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 20—23. "This was not a full Communion Office, but an addition of an English form of communion for the people to the Latin Mass."

Henry VIII. to the bishopric of Westminster, when, in 1540, on the dissolution of the abbey, it had been erected into an episcopal see. On the accession of Edward VI., in 1550, the new bishopric was dissolved, and Thirlby was translated to Norwich; thence he was removed to Ely, by Queen Mary, on the death of Goodrich, and was soon afterwards sent ambassador to Rome, to represent the state of the kingdom, and promise obedience to the Apostolic See. The ceremony of degrading Archbishop Cranmer was performed by Thirlby, who was observed to weep during it. "He cannot be followed," says Fuller, "as some other of his order, by the light of the faggots kindled by him to burn poor martyrs, seeing he was given rather to prodigality than cruelty*." But although he is said to have alienated much of the land which had been assigned to the Westminster bishopric, he did much for the see of Ely, since he procured from the Crown the advowson of eight prebends attached to it. Bishop Thirlby continued in favour for a short time after the accession of Elizabeth, but on refusing the oath of supremacy he was committed to the Tower, whence he was removed to Lambeth, where he lived for ten years under the guardianship of Archbishop Parker. He died at Lambeth in 1570, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1559—1581.] RICHARD COX, born at Whaddon, Bucks, was educated at Eton, and at Cambridge; in which University he was, according to Fuller, one of the "most hopefull plants." Wolsey removed him to his new college at Oxford; and he afterwards became Master of Eton, chaplain to the King, and tutor to the Prince, afterwards Edward VI. He received various preferments from the Crown, and was the first dean of the cathedral church of Oxford—first at Osney, and then at Christ Church; with which deanery he held that of Westminster *in commendam*. Throughout the

* Worthies—Cambridgeshire.

reign of Edward, Cox was an ardent reformer, and found it necessary to take refuge at Frankfort during the Marian persecution. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and took an active part in the settlement of religion during the first years of her reign. In 1559, on the deprivation of Bishop Thirlby, he was consecrated to the see of Ely, from which, under the pressure of the Queen and courtiers, he was compelled to alienate many of the best manors. As bishop-elect, Cox, in conjunction with Parker, then archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and some other bishops, petitioned the Queen that she would forbear exchanging lands for tenths and impropriate rectories, on the vacancy of the different sees, which by an act passed in her first parliament she was entitled to do. The petition was without effect, and fourteen manors belonging to the see of Ely were at this time exchanged for tenths and impropriations of much less value. The Lord Keeper Hatton subsequently procured the alienation of a portion of the Bishop's property at Holborn; and it was on making resistance to this spoliation that Cox received the celebrated letter from the Queen:—

“Proud Prelate,—You know what you were before I made you what you are; if you do not immediately comply with my request, by God I will unfrock you.—ELIZABETH.”

“The names of Hatton Garden and Ely Place (*‘Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ’*) still bear witness to the encroaching Lord Keeper and the elbowed Bishop^b.” In consequence of this and many similar vexations, the Bishop, now of great age, was desirous of resigning his see, and in February, 1580, he seems to have obtained the Queen's consent to his doing so. He died, however, July, 1581, still Bishop of Ely, and was interred in his cathedral, near the tomb of Bishop Goodrich. His monument, a brass, no longer exists.

^b Hallam, Const. Hist., vol. i. p. 224. (ed. 1855.)

The see continued vacant for more than eighteen years after the death of Bishop Cox, during which time the Queen received the whole profits. The administration in "spirituals" was under commissioners appointed by the Archbishop. At last

[A.D. 1600—1609.] MARTIN HEATON, Dean of Winchester, was appointed. Like his predecessor, he was compelled to alienate much of the property of the see. His tomb, with effigy, remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXVI.)

[A.D. 1609, translated to Winchester 1619.] LANCELOT ANDREWES. (For the life of this bishop, who whilst at Ely spent large sums in repairing the residences attached to the see, see WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1619—1626.] NICHOLAS FELTON, translated from Bristol. He was one of those employed by James I. on the translation of the Bible.

[A.D. 1628—1631.] JOHN BUCKERIDGE was appointed, after a vacancy of a year and a-half. His reputation for learning and as a preacher was considerable.

[A.D. 1631—1638.] FRANCIS WHITE, translated from Norwich.

[A.D. 1638—1667.] MATTHEW WREN, eldest son of Francis Wren, citizen and mercer of London, had been chaplain to Lancelot Andrewes when Bishop of Ely, and was afterwards made chaplain to James I., by whose appointment he was sent, with Dr. Maw, to attend Prince Charles during his expedition to Spain, "with all the requirements for a comely celebration of the worship of the Church of England." He subsequently accompanied King Charles to Scotland, in 1633. Wren was an excellent hater of Puritans, an unflinching adherent of Laud, a strong supporter of the royal authority, and so highly in favour with the King, that Laud was said to be jealous of him. After many lesser preferments, he was made Bishop of Hereford in 1635; in the same year he was translated to Norwich, and in 1638 to Ely.

As Bishop of Norwich, Wren, "a man of a sour, severe nature," according to Lord Clarendon,—a "wren mounted on the wings of an eagle," in Bishop Williams' words,—carried out the Laudian discipline with a high hand. The Puritans declared it was the greatest persecution on record. "In all Queen Mary's time," said Burton, "there was not so great a havoc made, in so short a time, of the faithful ministers of God." Eight hundred and ninety-seven questions were distributed throughout the diocese for the unfortunate churchwardens to answer; prayers before sermons were silenced; and at length Bishop Wren was able to report something like uniformity in his diocese, although in the midst of deep-seated discontent. In the diocese of Ely the Bishop found less occupation: but he had discovered sundry abuses in Cambridge and the adjoining district, before, in 1641, after protesting with other bishops against their exclusion from the House of Lords, he was sent with them to the Tower. He was set at liberty for a short time in 1642, but was again arrested before the close of the year, and remained in confinement for eighteen years,—“displaying great patience, resolution, and firmness of mind.” He outlived the Rebellion, was set free in March, 1660, and after the King's return, in May of the same year, was replaced in the see of Ely. As a thank-offering he built the chapel at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he had been educated, and was interred therein in 1667. His diary, and other notices of this Bishop,—whom Hallam contemptuously dismisses as “one Wren, the worst on the bench,”—will be found in Wren's *Parentalia*.

Ely Cathedral continued unprofaned, and the service was duly performed in it, until January, 1644; when Cromwell, as Governor of Ely, made, says Carlyle, “a transient appearance in the cathedral one day, memorable to the Reverend Mr. Hitch and us.” He had already written to Mr. Hitch, requiring him “to forbear altogether the choir

service, so unedifying and offensive, lest the soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the cathedral church." Mr. Hitch paid no attention, and Cromwell accordingly appeared in time of service, "with a rabble at his heels, and with his hat on," and ordered the "assembly" to leave the cathedral. Mr. Hitch paused for a moment, but soon recommenced: when "'Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir,' said Oliver, in a voice still audible to this editor; which Mr. Hitch did now instantaneously give ear to."

[A.D. 1667—1675.] BENJAMIN LANEY, one of Charles the First's chaplains, who had attended him at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and afterwards had shared the exile of Charles II., was on the restoration made Bishop of Peterborough: thence translated to Lincoln in 1663, and thence to Ely in 1667. He rebuilt part of the episcopal palace, and was interred in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXI.)

[A.D. 1675—1684.] PETER GUNNING, a preacher of considerable celebrity, and a vigorous defender of the principles of the Church of England during Cromwell's Protectorate, was born at Hoo in Kent, and educated at the King's School, Canterbury. In 1670 he became Bishop of Chichester, and was thence translated to Ely. His monument, with effigy, has been noticed, (Pt. I. § XXVI.)

[A.D. 1684, deprived 1691.] FRANCIS TURNER, son of the Dean of Canterbury, was educated at Winchester, (where his name remains on the wall of the cloisters, near that of his friend Ken,) and at New College, Oxford. In 1670 he became Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; in 1683, Dean of Windsor; in the same year Bishop of Rochester; and in 1684 was translated to Ely. He was one of the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower, and was deprived, as a Nonjuror, in 1691. The rest of his life was passed in complete retirement. He died in 1700, at Ther-

field, in Hertfordshire, where he had been Rector, and was buried in the chancel there, which he had "decorated," repaved, and wainscoted, at his own expense. His only memorial is the word *Expergiscar* on the stone which covers his vault. He had erected a monument to his wife in the same church.

Bishop Turner is best remembered for his intimate friendship with the excellent Bishop Ken, who was associated with him in the principal events of his life. Both bishops were present at the death-bed of Charles II.

[A.D. 1691—1707.] SIMON PATRICK was perhaps the most distinguished bishop who has filled the see of Ely since the Reformation. He was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, in 1626, and was educated at Cambridge. In 1662 he became Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, "where by his excellent instructions and example he gained the entire love and esteem of his parishioners, and more especially by continuing with them all the time of the great plague in 1665." Charles II., to whom he was chaplain, made him Dean of Peterborough in 1672. Under James II. he was an active defender of the Church of England, and in 1686 Patrick and Dr. Jane had a conference with two Roman priests, in the presence of the King and of the Earl of Rochester, whom James was desirous of converting to Romanism. On this occasion the King declared that "he never heard a bad cause so well, or a good one so ill, maintained." Soon after the Revolution (Oct. 1689), Patrick, who had been much employed in settling the affairs of the Church, was promoted to the see of Chichester, vacant by the death of Bishop Lake; and in July, 1691, on Bishop Turner's refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, he was translated to Ely. Bishop Patrick died in the palace there in May, 1707, and was interred in the cathedral, where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § xxxi.)

Simon Patrick is highly praised by Bishop Burnet, and

his learning and unblemished character have been duly appreciated by writers of all parties. His "Paraphrases and Commentaries on the Scriptures" are of great value, and his sermons and lesser tracts, many of which have lately been reprinted, take good rank among the works of English Churchmen of that period. Whilst Dean of Peterborough he completed and published a History of that Church, which had been compiled by Simon Gunton, a prebendary of Peterborough.

[A.D. 1707—1714.] JOHN MOORE, who became Bishop of Norwich in 1691, on the deprivation of Bishop Lloyd, was on the death of Patrick translated to Ely. An important collection of books and MSS., made by him, was after his death bought by George I., and given to the University of Cambridge.

[A.D. 1714—1723.] WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, was translated from St. Asaph, to which see he was consecrated in 1708. In 1712 Bishop Fleetwood published four sermons, with a preface, in which he strongly defended the principles of the Revolution, endangered, as was then generally believed, by the Jacobite intrigues of the Ministers. The book was ordered to be burnt by a ministerial majority of the Commons, but its author was rewarded on the accession of George I. by his translation to Ely.

[A.D. 1723—1738.] THOMAS GREENE was translated to Ely from Norwich.

[A.D. 1738—1748.] ROBERT BUTTS, also translated from Norwich, was a descendant of Sir William Butts, physician to Henry VIII.

[A.D. 1748—1754.] SIR THOMAS GOOCH, Bart., became Bishop of Bristol in 1737, whence he was translated to Norwich in 1738, and thence to Ely in 1748.

[A.D. 1754—1770.] MATTHIAS MAWSON, Bishop successively of Llandaff and Chichester, whence he was translated to Ely.

[A.D. 1771—1781.] EDMUND KEENE, translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1781—1808.] **JAMES YORKE**, Bishop successively of St. David's and Gloucester.

[A.D. 1808—1812.] **THOMAS DAMPIER**, translated from Rochester.

[A.D. 1812—1836.] **BOWYER EDWARD SPARKE**, translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1836—1845.] **JOSEPH ALLEN**, translated from Bristol.

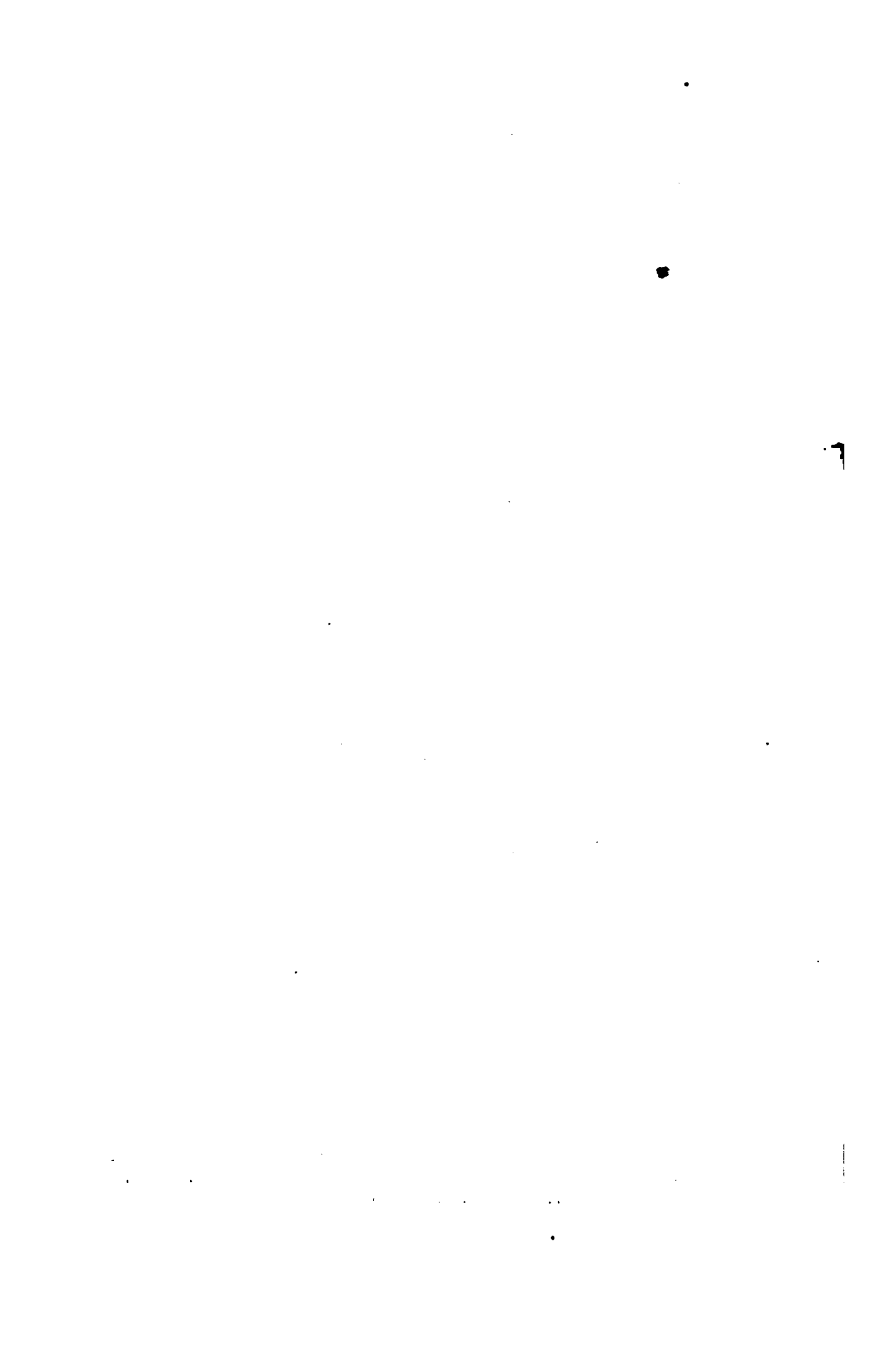
[A.D. 1845.] **THOMAS TURTON**.

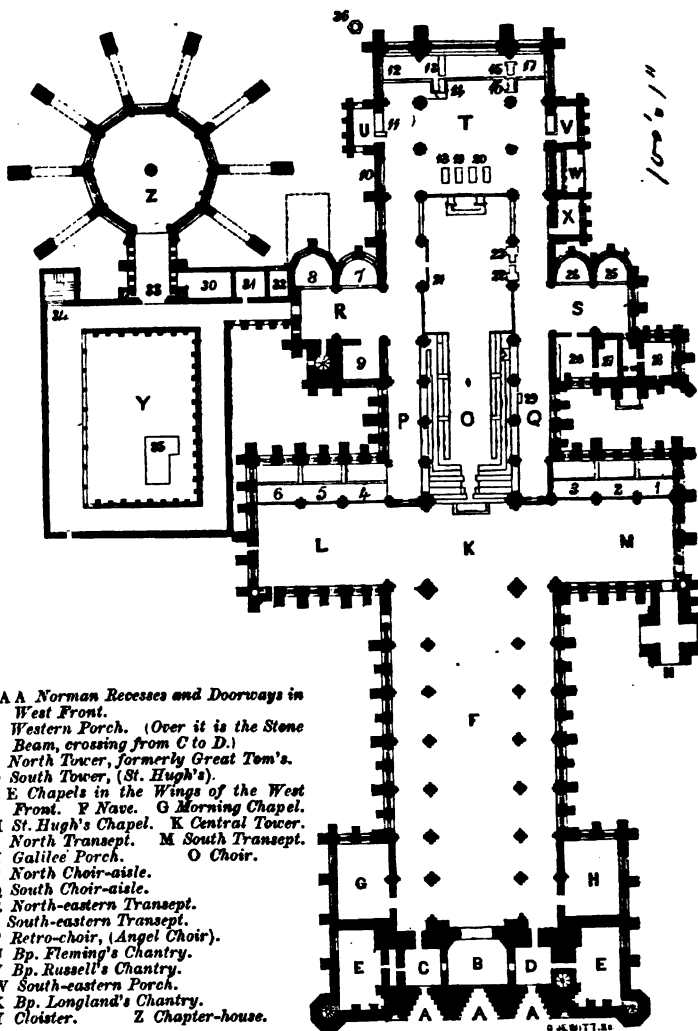
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LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



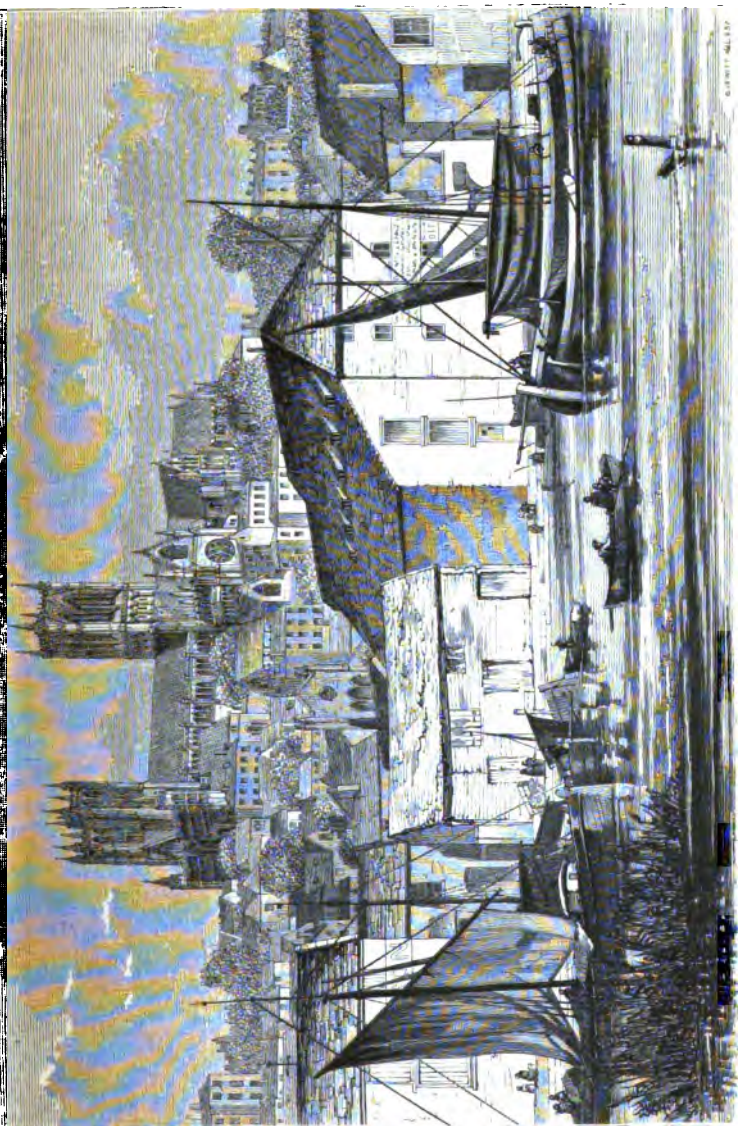
THE ORIGINAL "SWINEHERD OF STOW," AND OTHER SCULPTURES,
IN THE CLOISTERS.



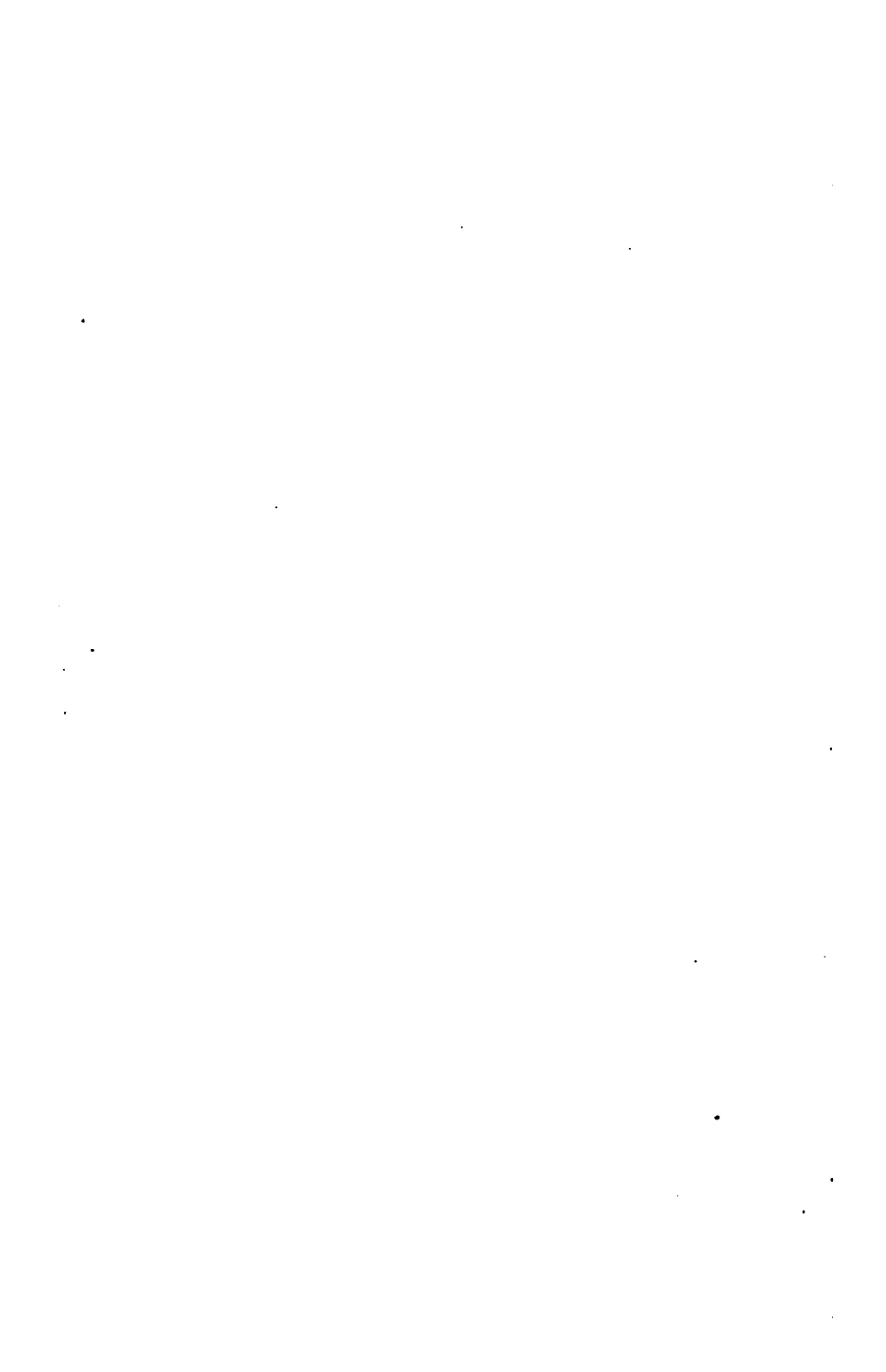


- 1 Chapel of St. Thomas.
- 2 Chapel of St. Andrew.
- 3 St. Anne's Chapel, re-dedicated to St. Edward.
- 4 Chapel of St. James.
- 5 Chapel of St. Denis.
- 6 Chapel of St. Nicholas.
- 7 Chapel of St. Hugh.
- 8 Lady-chapel.
- 9 Ancient Vestry.
- 10 North-east Entrances.
- 11 Bishop Fleming's Monument.
- 12 Monum. of Lord Burghersh.
- 13 Monum. of Rob. de Burghersh.
- 14 Monument of Bp. Burghersh.
- 15 Monument of Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe.
- 16 Monument of Canon Wimbishe.
- 17 Cantilupe Chantry.
- 18 Memorial of St. Hugh.
- 19 Tomb of Bp. Fuller.
- 20 Gardiner Monuments.
- 21 Easter Sepulchre.
- 22 Monument of the Duchess of Lancaster.
- 23 Monument of the Countess of Westmoreland.
- 24 Chapel of St. Paul.
- 25 Chapel of St. Peter.
- 26, 27 Ancient Choristers' Vault.
- 28 Principal Vestry.
- 29 Shrine of Little St. Hugh.
- 30, 31, 32 Anciently one room the "Camera Communis".
- 33 Vestibule to Chapter-house.
- 34 Staircase to Library.
- 35 Roman Pavement.
- 36 Well.

GROUND-PLAN, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.



VIEW FROM THE RIVER



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE see of Dorchester (see Pt. II.) was removed to Lincoln by REMIGIUS OF FECAMP, the first bishop after the Conquest, about the year 1073. Remigius at once commenced the erection of a cathedral, which was sufficiently far advanced in 1092 to admit of its consecration. Four days before that chosen for the purpose, however, Bishop Remigius died, and the church was consecrated during the episcopate of his successor, ROBERT BLOET, (1094—1123). In the year 1124 a great fire occurred, after which Bishop ALEXANDER (1123—1148) replaced the wooden roof of the nave with a vault of stone. In 1185 this Norman cathedral, according to Benedict of Peterborough, was “cleft from top to bottom by an earthquake.” Its rebuilding was commenced by Bishop HUGH OF GRENOBLE, (1186—1200,) better known as “St. Hugh of Lincoln.” The existing *choir*, the *eastern transept*, the *east side* of the *great transept*, and the *west side* as high as the second tier of windows, are attributed to St. Hugh, as is the *chapter-house*, but this building is certainly of a later date. The completion of the great transept, and the *Galilee porch*, were perhaps

the work of his successor, WILLIAM OF BLOIS, (1203—1209). The *nave*, and the upper portion of the *west front*, are given to Bishop HUGH OF WELLS, (1209—1235); the *west transept*, and one story of the *great tower* above the roof, to Bishop ROBERT GROSTETE, (1235—1253). It should be remarked, however, that the distribution of these several portions is somewhat arbitrary. All that is certainly known is that the cathedral was not finished by St. Hugh; since in 1205 a royal letter was issued, appealing to the faithful throughout the diocese for funds toward the completion of so noble a work, ("tam nobile opus." In the same letter it is called "*egregia structura*".) The character of the work itself, however, proves that it must have been continued until its completion with but little interruption. The plans of the architect employed by St. Hugh, named Geoffry de Noiers^b, were probably carried out during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells^c.

^a The letter will be found at length in the Rev. J. Hunter's volume of Chapter-house documents—(*Rotuli selecti ex Capit Domo, &c.*)

^b Of what country Geoffry de Noiers was a native remains uncertain. A long discussion on the subject will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine," from Feb. to June, 1861. No less than thirteen places called Noiers have been pointed out in different parts of France. Mr. Dimock, however, (*Gent. Mag.*, June, 1861,) proves that "de Noiers" was an hereditary English name (with a Northamptonshire family) in St. Hugh's time. Hence the architect of Lincoln *may* have been a born and thoroughbred Englishman.

^c The *Metrical Life* of St. Hugh, written during the lifetime of his successor, Bishop Hugh of Wells, (and admirably edited

The *presbytery*, or 'Angel choir,' was completed before the year 1282, when the shrine of St. Hugh was removed into it. The *cloisters* and the upper part of the *central tower* were the work of Bishop SUTTON, (1280—1300). The south end of the great transept, with its circular window, dates from the episcopate of THOMAS BEK, (1342—1347); and the upper part of the western towers is Perpendicular work of about 1450.

II. By far the greater part of Lincoln Cathedral is accordingly of Early English date: and although Salisbury (begun 1220, completed 1258) and Westminster (begun 1245, completed 1269) are in some respects grander and more complete examples, Lincoln has an especial interest from the fact of its having been commenced so long before either. Although it has been frequently asserted that the architecture of this cathedral displays French influence, M. Viollet-le-Duc, whose authority on this point scarcely admits of dispute, has declared that, after the most careful examination, he could not find "in any part of the cathedral of Lincoln, neither in the general design, nor in any part of the system of architecture adopted, nor in the details of ornament, any trace of the French school of the twelfth century, (the lay school from 1170 to 1220,) so plainly characteristic of the cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Senlis, Chartres, Sens, and even Rouen^d." This fact,

by the Rev. J. F. Dimock, Lincoln, 1860,) contains a very curious and interesting description of St. Hugh's cathedral. It will be found printed at length in Part III.

^d M. Viollet-le-Duc's letter appeared in the "Gentleman's

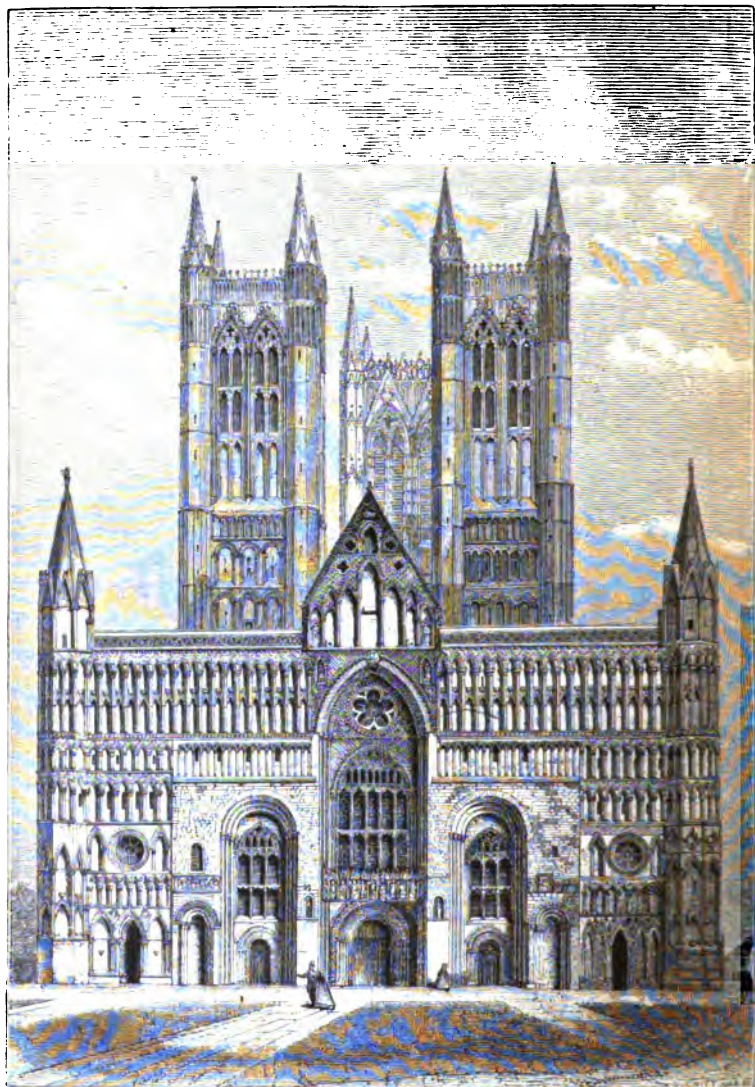
which greatly increases the probability that the architect Geoffrey de Noiers was an Englishman, gives us good reason to claim for St. Hugh the distinction of having been "the first effectual promoter, if not the actual inventor, of our national and most excellent Early English style of architecture*;" and in point of interest, renders it difficult for any other church to exceed Lincoln Cathedral. In size and importance it may be regarded as the third great church of the Early English period in England, the whole of the interior, except the presbytery, being of this age; "and this part follows so immediately after the rest as not to produce any want of harmony, but merely a degree of enrichment suitable to the increased sanctity of the altar, and the localities surrounding it†."

In grandeur of situation, Lincoln has no rival among English cathedrals. It rises on its "sovereign hill," a conspicuous landmark from every part of the surrounding country, [see *Frontispiece*]; and its towers are full in view as the traveller ascends the steep High-street, and winds upward toward the Close. As he passes beyond the gateway, the east end of the building, and the chapter-house with its flying buttresses, first appear. The road then proceeds close under the south side of the cathedral, the lines of which are varied by projecting chapels and porches to

Magazine" for May, 1861. It is, however, so interesting and important that it will be found nearly at length in the Appendix, Part III.

* J. F. Dimock.

† Fergusson.



THE WEST FRONT.

175-8

an unusual extent. An entire new church seems to open after passing the Galilee porch, and finally the west front appears, with the towers rising behind it. No other cathedral is richer or more varied in its outlines, although Lincoln may perhaps be exceeded in the interest of its details. This unrivalled effect results entirely from the grandeur of the building itself, and from that of its situation. The eastern end rises above a small plot of greensward, but the grey stone of the building is contrasted by no trees or gardens, and the houses which line the Close are scarcely picturesque.

The cathedral is built throughout of stone from the oolite beds, in the immediate neighbourhood, which, although it blackens on exposure to the air, is almost indestructible, and completely retains the sharpness of its sculpture. The marks of a toothed chisel, with which it was worked, are visible on many parts of the interior. The Purbeck marble, used for shafts and capitals, is by no means so durable, and much of it has completely decayed.

III. The *west front* [Plate I.], notwithstanding its mixture of styles, (a result, in all probability, of a want of funds, which prevented the removal of the Norman front,) is grand and impressive, and deservedly ranks high among the façades of English cathedrals. Its effect is no doubt greatly increased by the western towers, which rise immediately behind it; but it well deserves examination for its own sake, and for the interest of its details. The distinction between the Norman and Early English

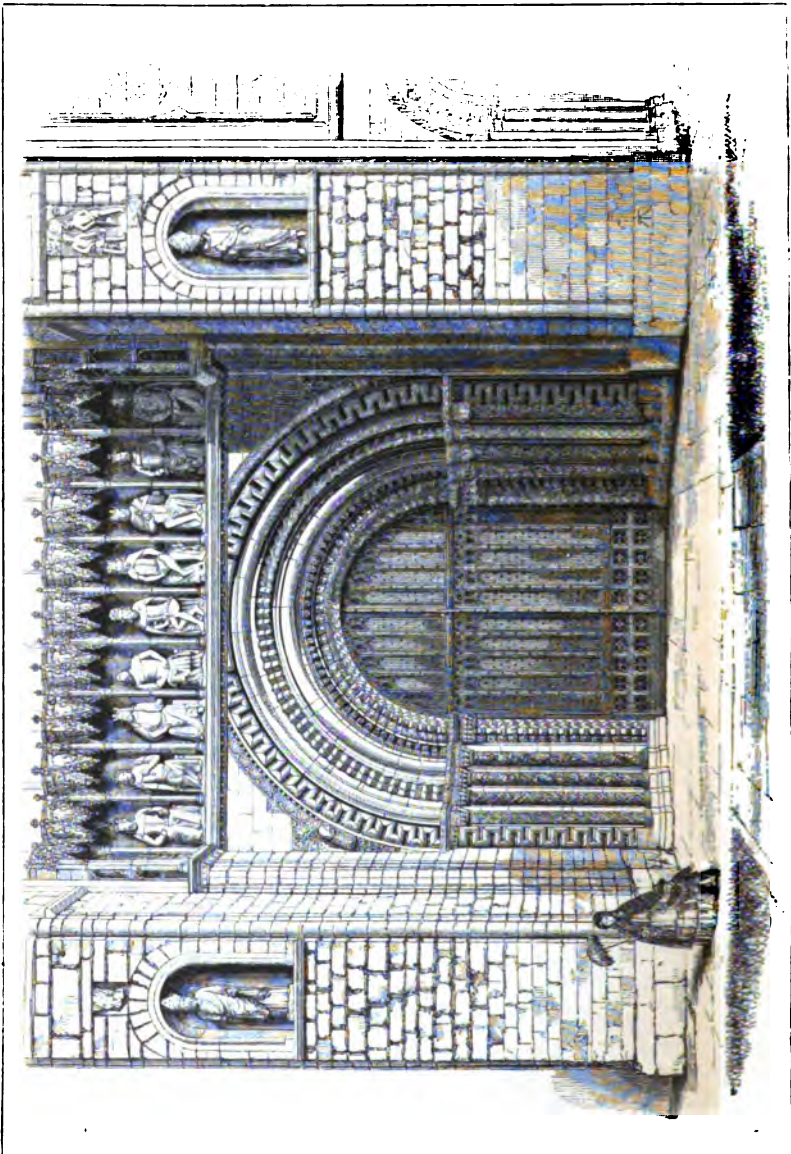
work is at once evident. The central portion, containing the five archways, belonged to the Norman cathedral of Remigius, of which building it is the only trace remaining. This Norman portion extends to the top of the intersecting arcade above the two principal circular arches. The rest of the front itself is entirely



Arched Recess.

Early English, and was probably the work of Bishop HUGH OF WELLS, (1209 — 1235). The windows above the three principal doorways are Perpendicular, and were inserted about 1380.

The Norman portion of the front consists of three lofty recesses, of which that in the centre is the highest and widest. At the foot of each of these recesses is a round-headed doorway, and beyond the side recesses are two lower arches, which never contained doorways. The masonry and capitals of these recesses deserve especial notice. The capitals are thoroughly characteristic of early Norman work; and the masonry is one of the best examples of "wide-jointed." The three principal recesses were originally



THE WEST DOOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

terminated by gables; so that the whole arrangement resembled, on a smaller scale and in a different style, that of the west front of Peterborough. On the incorporation of this Norman front with the Early English work of Bishop Hugh, the gables were removed, and the circular arch of the central recess was changed to pointed. The spring of the Norman arch is evident, immediately below the "trellis" work, which lines the wall. Its original height was 75 ft. The present Early English arch rises to more than 80 ft. X

The three *doorways*, within the recesses, were probably inserted by Bishop ALEXANDER, (1123—1148). They are late Norman in character, and a careful examination of the masonry will shew that the walls in which they are set are of earlier date. The central doorway [Plate II.] is by far the richest, and all its ornaments and mouldings deserve notice. On the shafts are armed figures entangled in rings of leafage, between which are birds and grotesque animals placed back to back. On the shafts of the north doorway are some singular figures arranged in pairs; one of which is attacked by serpents; another figure bites his thumb. The three entrances may be compared with the very curious Norman doorways at Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire, of which coloured casts may be seen at Sydenham. These are much ruder, and probably earlier than the Lincoln doorways, but the general character of ornament is the same.

Above the two exterior recesses, and stretching at intervals across the Norman portion of the front, is

a band of remarkable sculpture, which, in the opinion of Gough the antiquary, was removed from some earlier building, and applied to the decoration of his new front by Remigius. There is no reason, however, judging from the character of the sculptures, for believing them to be of earlier date than the Norman cathedral itself. Their subjects are from the Old and New Testaments, but many of them are too far decayed to be readily interpreted. Beginning at the north end, those which may still be deciphered are,—The Doom, with figures hurried by demons to the mouth of hell; the Last Supper; the Expulsion from Eden; Adam and Eve at labour; Demons seizing a crowned figure; and a Ship (the Ark?).

The three large windows in the recesses are Perpendicular insertions. The side windows were perhaps the work of Treasurer Welborne, *circa* 1370. The great west window is attributed, by Leland, to Bishop ALNWICK, (1436—1450,) who commenced the rebuilding of the west front of Norwich, during his episcopate there; and who left directions at his death for the construction of the great west window of that cathedral. (See NORWICH.) The foiled opening at the head of the central recess is Early English, like the arch in which it is set. Over the central doorway are the figures of eleven kings, under enriched canopies, “reasonably considered to have been placed there under the active but tasteless superintendence of the Treasurer Welbourne, about 1370. The costume and details may possibly contain some archæological interest, but so wretched are

the design and workmanship of these carvings, that they furnish matter of painful edification in tracing the rapid decline which may be effected upon the sensitive existence of fine art during one century only."—*C. R. Cockerell*. These indifferent sculptures are to be compared with the admirable figures of the Angel choir, (§ XIV.,) which are just one century earlier. In niches, on either side of the central recess, are figures of bishops, wearing enormous mitres. They are of the same date as the statues of the kings.

IV. Beyond and above the Norman work the whole of the front is Early English, and was probably completed by Bishop HUGH OF WELLS, (1209—1235). The breadth of the Norman portion (100 ft.) is that of the nave. The Early English wings have at their angles octagonal turrets, capped with spires, and a gable, much enriched, rises in the centre of the front, immediately above the principal recess. The flanking turrets project unusually, and cast deep shadows. The front is covered with a series of arcades and ornaments, and was once crowded with figures, brackets for supporting which still remain. The bosses, sculptured with human heads, in the upper stringcourses, and at the intersection of the arcades, are admirable, and deserve careful notice. The central gable, however, and the upper part of the arch beneath, are the best and richest portions of the front. The arrangements and minute details of the gable, with the small statues which remain in its niches, are excellent examples of the purest Early English. The raised "trellis-work" of the masonry, which occurs

also in the interior of the tower, should be noticed; and the cinquefoiled window in the head of the arch was regarded by Rickman as "nearly unique, from the exquisite workmanship of its mouldings, which consist of openwork bands of flowers." The foliage in the cusps is especially admirable. On the central boss of the vaulting in the recess is carved the Expulsion from Paradise.

The parapet, which extends on either side between the gable and the turrets, is an addition of the fourteenth century. The spires which cap the turrets are crowned by statues; of which that south represents St. Hugh, that north is known as the "Swineherd of Stow," a *porcarius* who, according to the local legend, gave a peck of silver pennies toward the building of the cathedral. The swineherd is in the act of blowing a horn, and the figure has been sometimes regarded as the rebus of Bishop Bloet, (Blow it),—a pun which, although perfectly in accordance with the taste of the fifteenth century, hardly agrees with that of the thirteenth. The existing figure dates only from 1850; but is a fac-simile of the original "Swineherd," preserved in the cloisters, (see § xxv., and *Title-page* *.)

The entire breadth of the west front is 173 ft.; its height (below the gable) 83 ft.

V. The *western porch*, which we now enter, and the porches on either side, beneath the towers, were much

* Much of the west front is at present (1862) undergoing a scraping process which threatens serious injury to the sculpture and finer details.

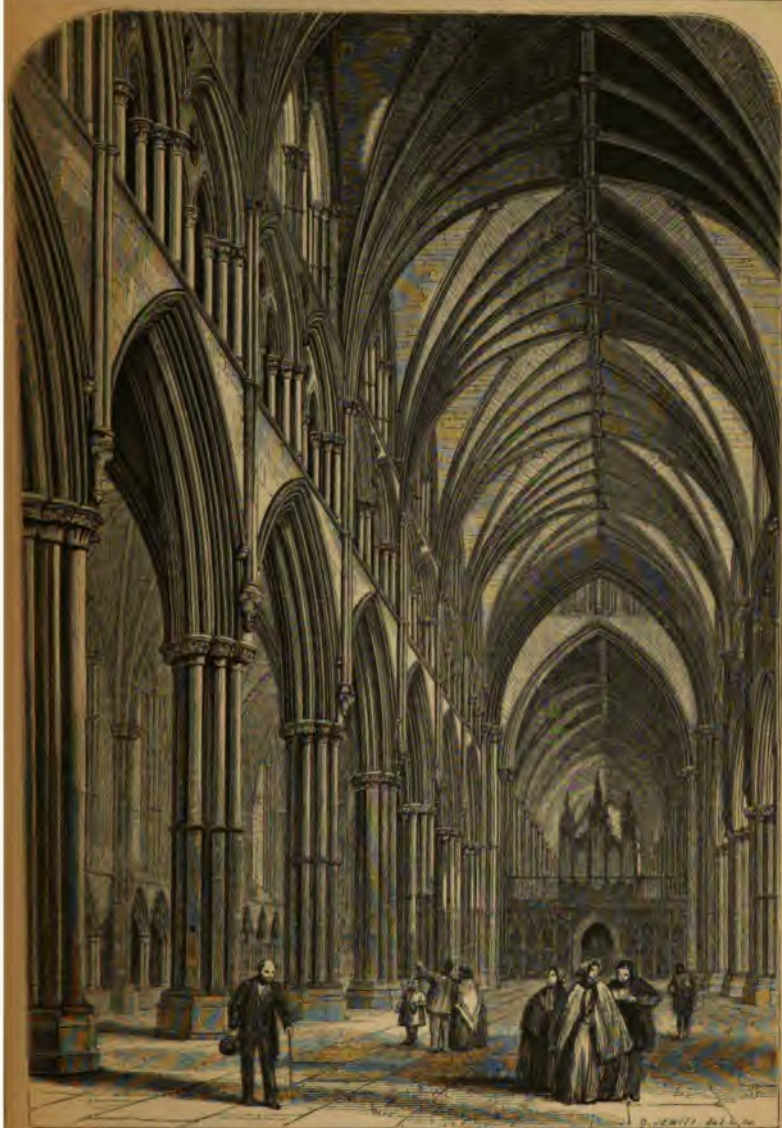
altered by Bishop ALNWICK, (1436—1450,) and their groined vaulting is of his time, as is the arcade which lines the walls. The modern arches, which encumber and destroy the effect of these porches, were added about 1727, in order to provide additional support for the west towers, which are still in an unsatisfactory condition. On each side of the central porch is a tablet for the officers and men of the 10th (or North Lincolnshire) Regiment who fell in the campaign of 1845-6 on the Sutlej, and in that of 1848-9 in the Punjab. There is also a tablet for Bishop WILLIAM SMITH, (1496—1514,) the founder of Brasenose College, Oxford, who was buried at the entrance of the nave, and whose brass, as the present inscription records, was destroyed by the "*Cromwellii flagitiosus grex.*"

On either side of the north and south porches are chapels, forming the wings of Bishop Hugh's work, and projecting beyond the nave. That north is approached through a dark narrow passage, above which is a chamber inaccessible except by a ladder, which has been regarded, but with little probability, as a prison. In the north-west angle of the chapel beyond it (lighted by a circular window seen in the west front, and by a second window north) is a recess, resembling one of those in the Norman front, of which this wall formed the north return. The chapel beyond the south porch is known as St. Hugh's, and had an entrance on the west side, which has not long been closed. The walls (which retain some original thirteenth-century border-

painting) are inscribed with the "names of the Company of Ringers of our blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln:" the earliest dating from 1614. Both chapels have wall-arcades, and both have Early English groined vaults.

VI. Leaving, for the present, the ascent of the western towers, which is made from these chapels, (see § XXIX.,) we enter the *nave*. [Plate III.] The first impression here, on a visitor fresh from Ely or Peterborough, is perhaps slightly disappointing. Lincoln wants the colossal proportions of those great naves; and the wide spacing of the piers, with their apparent want of solidity, renders the nave of this cathedral "almost a failure," in the judgment of Mr. Fergusson. These original defects are not lessened by the abominable coating of yellow wash with which the whole of the walls and piers, including the Purbeck shafts, is covered. The coldness of the vaulted roof, which is white, without colour or gilding on the bosses, and the position of the organ, which intercepts the view eastward, otherwise a very fine one, also assist in lessening the general effect.

A remarkable irregularity of plan is seen at the west end of the nave, and should here be noticed. "The axis of the choir is continued in a straight line nearly to the end of the nave, and then breaks off suddenly to the north, and falls into the axis of the Norman west front." Mr. Penrose, who has pointed out this peculiarity, suggests as an explanation, that the architect who built the *choir* intended to have given the axis of the



THE NAVE.

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nave an obliquity with respect to that of the choir, such as is found in many English and foreign cathedrals, (Peterborough and Norwich for example,) "otherwise there was no occasion for him to have built that part of the church out of parallel with the axis of the Norman work." The builders of the *nave*, however, no doubt intending to clear away all the Norman work, and to build an entirely new west front, carried out the axis of the new work in a continuous straight line. "Reckoning from the central tower, five of the seven architectural bays of the nave are about 26 by 6 ft. in extent from east to west; the sixth and seventh are 21 by 3 ft. We may suppose that at the time the building arrived at the sixth arch, economical reasons suggested the incorporation of the Norman work in the clumsy way in which we see it; and the contraction of the span of the last two arches, and a sudden lowering of the vault by about 2 ft. (which takes place over the sixth arch), are the signs of the sacrifice of architectural propriety at which this saving was effected. Had seven bays been carried out, of the same breadth as the first five, and with a deep porch, perhaps similar to that of Peterborough externally, the whole of the consecrated area [that of the Norman church] might have been covered by a uniform structure of simple proportions. We, indeed, may be thankful for the archæological interest which this circumstance has preserved to us in the remains of Bishop Remigius's west front, and admire in the exterior the skill and beauty with which the Early English front is composed around the Norman

nucleus; it nevertheless cannot be denied that the interior suffers greatly from this irregularity, which, it may be safely affirmed, formed no part of the original intention of the architect¹."

The details of the nave and its aisles, however, are of the utmost beauty, as would be at once evident if the wash were removed with which they are at present covered. The entire nave, like the west front, is generally assigned to Bishop HUGH OF WELLS, (1209—1235,) and is throughout, of course, Early English. It consists of seven bays, from the west towers to the transepts; the slender piers are set at unusual distances, and give an impression of greater space than that which is afforded by the actual width of the nave, (42 feet,) which, however, exceeds that of the naves of Ely (30 feet) or Peterborough (35 feet). The details of the piers vary. The first three (counting from the east) correspond north and south, and the capitals of this group are richer than those westward of them. Below there is more variation, although some of the piers still correspond. The capitals on the south side, however, differ from those north, and are perhaps somewhat earlier. The leafage of all deserves careful examination. Over all the arches are hood-mouldings, springing from small heads.

The *triforium* is arranged in groups of three arches, circumscribed by a larger one, (two groups in each

¹ F. C. Penrose, An Inquiry into the System of Proportions which prevail in the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral. (Lincoln Vol. of the Archaeological Institute.)

bay,) with foiled openings in the tympana, and a trefoil in the spandril between the two circumscribing arches. The *clerestory*—in the upper mouldings of which the dog-tooth ornament appears—is in [groups of three arches. The capitals of triforium and clerestory are the same on both sides of the nave. Slender triple vaulting-shafts rise from corbels at the spring of the lower arches; and the vault itself spreads in groups of seven ribs, with bosses of foliage at the intersections. The names of different persons who were concerned in the building or decoration of this part of the church were formerly to be seen, painted on the vaulting. These have all been concealed by the whitewash, with the exception of the name of “Wilhelmus Paris,” which is still visible in the centre of the nave, not far from the great tower¹.

VII. The *aisles* of the nave vary in detail, although there is probably little difference in their dates. The vaulting of both springs from the nave piers, and from clustered Purbeck shafts, in groups of five, set against the opposite wall. The wall of the *north aisle* is lined by a continuous arcade of trefoiled arches, set on shafts, detached from the wall, in groups of three. There are four arches in each bay; and against every fifth arch are set the vaulting-shafts, detached, and raised on a base projecting beyond the bench of the arcade. In each bay are two lancet-lights, and a detached vaulting-shaft between them reaches to the stringcourse above

¹ The other names were Helias Pictor, Walterus Brand, Wilhelmus Baldwin, Ricardus de Ponte, and Robertus Saria.

the arcade. If the whole of these shafts were properly cleaned, the effect would be exquisitely light and graceful. There are probably few more interesting examples of an Early English wall-arcade.

In the *south aisle* the arcade is not continuous. There are five arches in each bay; and the vaulting-shafts, none of which are detached, are set against the wall between them. The dog-tooth occurs in the mouldings, (which is not the case in the north aisle); there are bosses of foliage at the spring of the arches; and the crockets at the bases of the shafts between the windows differ from those opposite. The capitals of the shafts are all sculptured. Many of those opposite are quite plain, as are the window-corbels. It is scarcely possible to say which aisle is the earlier, although the north partakes more of the character of St. Hugh's work in the choir aisles.

The four easternmost windows in the north aisle, and one in the south, are filled with memorial stained glass. The high tombs and brasses in this part of the church were destroyed by the "*Cromwellii flagitiosus grex*" during the Civil War. Close within the great western door were those of Bishop GYNWELL (died 1363), Bishop ATWATER (died 1521), Bishop ALNWICK (died 1450), and Bishop SMITH (died 1514). The society of Brasenose College have placed a tablet to the memory of their founder (Bishop Smith) on the wall of the west porch.

VIII. Opening from the aisles of the nave, at its western extremity, and in a line with the wings of the

west front, are two Early English chapels, of somewhat later character than the nave itself. That *south* (called St. Hugh's Chapel) is said to have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and now serves as the consistory court. Its walls are lined with an arcade of pointed arches. The *north*, or *morning chapel*, (formerly used for Morning Prayer,) is divided into two bays by a central group of Purbeck shafts, bound with pointed fillets, and deserving special attention for their grace and beauty. In this chapel is placed a large square *font*, of the late Norman period. It is of Purbeck, and the bowl is raised on a central pillar, with four shafts at the angles. Winged lions and monsters are sculptured on the sides, and a broad leaf-ornament in the four upper corners.

IX. The *central*, or *rood-tower*,—now, from a corruption of the latter word, known as the *Broad tower*,—is partly open, as a lantern, and is supported by four enormously massive piers, composed of twenty-four alternate shafts of Lincoln and Purbeck stone, with rich capitals of Early English leafage. Four lofty arches, with the dog-tooth ornament in their mouldings, rise above these piers; their spandrels are hatched with trellis-work. Above is an arcade of six arches on either side, arranged in groups of three; vaulting-shafts, springing from enriched corbels, divide each group. A second arcade, of eight arches on either side, arranged in groups of four, and having two arches on either side, pierced for windows, rises above. The vaulting of the roof is apparently of later date than the rest

of the work,—the first story of which (above the roof) is attributed to Bishop Grostête, (1235—1253). The piers may perhaps belong to the work either of St. Hugh or of Bishop Hugh of Wells, although they must have been greatly strengthened and enlarged by Grostête; and the upper part of the tower was added by Bishop D'ALDERBY, (1300—1320,) who, about the year 1306, issued an indulgence of forty days to all who assisted in its completion. The first Early English tower fell about the year 1240—"propter artificii insolentiam¹;" after which the rebuilding was commenced by Bishop Grostête. According to Matthew Paris, the fall occurred during a sermon preached by one of the canons in denunciation of this famous bishop, who was at variance with his Chapter. "If we should hold our peace," exclaimed the canon, "the very stones would cry out"—"etsi nos taceamus, lapides reclamabunt;" at which words the stonework of the tower fell.

The view westward from beneath the central tower is a very striking one, owing to the depth of the western porch, in which the great window is set. The arch on either side, as well as the splays of the window itself, are covered with trellised ornament. Above is the rose window, with a small arcade at its sides. The very graceful form of this opening—cinque-foiled, with small trefoiled lights in the angles—is well seen from this point; and its effect is much aided by

¹ Bened. Abbas, who says the tower fell in 1237. 1240 is the date given by Matthew Paris.

the stained glass—a figure of Bishop Remigius—placed in it by Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt.

X. The *great transept*, opening north and south from the central tower, is attributed to St. Hugh. The eastern sides, and the western as high as the second tier of windows, are probably of this date, (1186—1200). The details of these portions resemble those of the choir; and a comparison with the nave will at once shew the difference. Both transepts have eastern aisles; and the arrangement of the piers, triforium, and clerestory is precisely that of the choir. The corbels (one from the north transept is here given) should be especially noticed. The west side of both transepts has an arcade like that of the south nave aisles below, with five lancet lights



Corbel, North Transept.

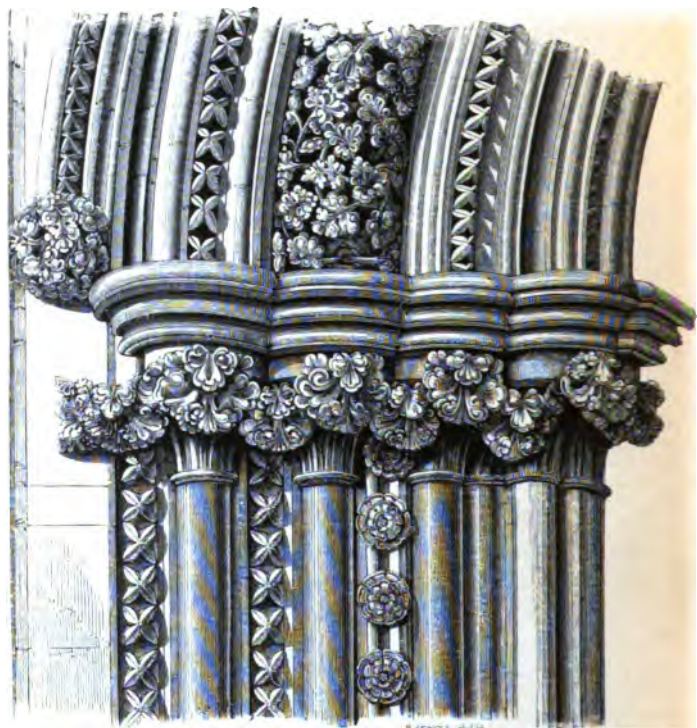
above, and single lancets in the clerestory. The arcade at the base is pierced for windows at intervals.

The eastern portion of the aisle in both transepts is raised on two steps, and divided into three bays or chapels by projecting stone screens of the same date as the aisle itself. The sides of the screens are or-

namented with a trefoiled arcade on detached shafts; and in front of each is a single pointed arch. The screens rise as high as the top of the east wall arcade, and project to the top of the highest step. In the north transept they retain their original conical capping, with a finial at the end, and leafage in the front gables.

In the *south transept* the most southerly of these chapels was dedicated to St. Thomas, and has a large Early English bracket against the south wall. The Perpendicular tomb below is that of Sir George Taylboys. The central chapel was St. Andrew's, and shews against its east wall an arcade of pointed arches, with the dog-tooth ornament. In the third chapel, originally dedicated to St. Anne, a chantry of four chaplains was founded by Henry Duke of Lancaster, who caused the chapel to be re-dedicated in honour of St. Edward the Martyr. At the back is a double wall-arcade, resembling those in the choir-aisles; and on the screen in front is a shield bearing the arms of England and France quarterly. Under the arch of the screen is the inscription, "Oremus pro benefactoribus istius Ecclesiæ."

In the south-west angle of this transept are the doors of the galilee porch, (see § xxx.) Against the west wall of the transept are the basement and supports of the silver shrine of St. JOHN D'ALDERBY, Bishop of Lincoln, (1300—1320: see Part II.) It was no doubt with the object of doing especial honour to this shrine that the south end of this transept was altered, and



CAPITALS OF THE DOORWAY OF THE SOUTH AISLE.

the beautiful rose window inserted; (see *post*). "At the very same time," observes Mr. Poole, "the authorities of Chichester were paying the like homage to the memory of St. Richard, their local saint^k."

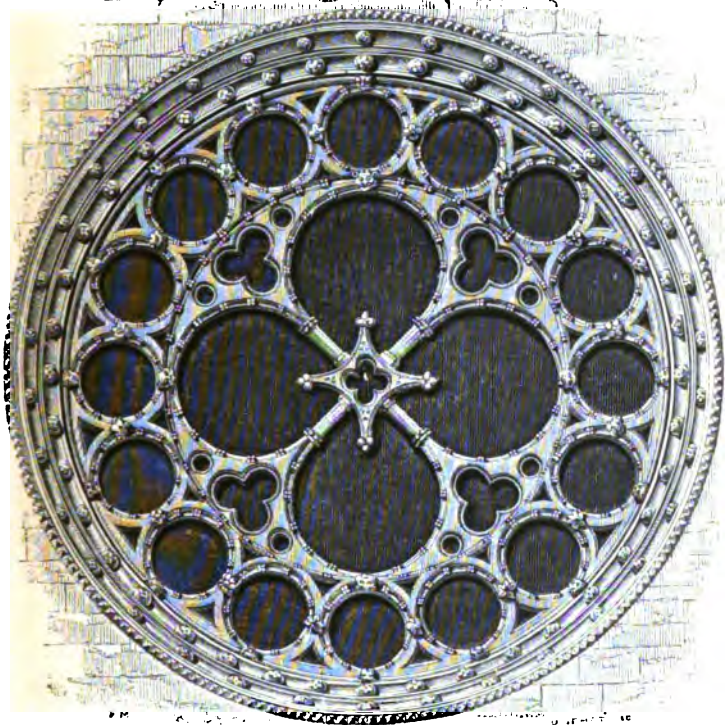
The *doorway* [Plate IV.] opening from this transept into the south choir-aisle should be especially noticed. It belongs to the last period of Early English, ranging between that style in its purity and the first Decorated, or "Geometrical." The doorway recedes in four orders, with shafts of Purbeck at the angles. The spaces between the shafts are filled with the dog-tooth and rose ornaments; the capitals are enriched with leafage, among which are sculptured dragons, owls (two on the north side are especially quaint), and small human figures: above is a very rich frieze of leafage. The spandrels of the arch are filled with blank trefoils.

In the *north transept* the southernmost chapel was dedicated to St. James the Apostle, the next to St. Denis, and the third to St. Nicholas. The double wall-arcade in the first chapel extends partly into the central one, and is there exchanged for a single arcade of trefoiled arches. The doorway into the north choir-aisle is of the same date and character as that in the opposite transept, but differs in details.

The most remarkable portions of both transepts, however, are the *windows* in their south and north terminations. The end of the *north transept* has, below, two lancets on either side of a door opening to the deanery; an arcade of pointed arches covers the wall above; and

^k Transactions of Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society.

above, again, is a large "rose" or "wheel" window, [Plate V.], retaining its original stained glass,—“One of the most splendid, and in its present state one of the most perfect works of the thirteenth century.”—*O. Winston*. The window itself, which is probably part of St. Hugh's work, and may date about 1200, is filled with plate tracery, and on the exterior is delicately ornamented. The lightness and grace of the small open flowers and grotesque heads between and at the sides of the different circles, are admirable. The stone work on the *interior* is “in a condition of great rudeness, owing to the repairs which have been made from time to time” for the preservation of the glazing. The subject of the *glass* is, “The Church on earth and the Church in heaven.” “The central part of the window” (the central quatrefoil, and the four large spaces round it) “is occupied with a representation of the blessed in heaven, with Christ sitting in the midst.” Each of the four trefoils in the angles between the large spaces contains the figure of an angel, tossing a thurible. The eight small circles at their sides contain four-leaved ornaments. “The sixteen circles which form the outer part of the window set forth the mysterious scheme of man's redemption, and the efficacy of holy Church. In the topmost circle is represented our Saviour seated on a rainbow, and displaying the Five Wounds. The two next circles on each side the window contain angels supporting the cross, and other instruments of the Passion. In the next circle on each side are holy persons in the act of being conducted to heaven by



CIRCULAR WINDOW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

St. Peter and other saints. The two next circles on each side are, or have been, occupied with a representation of the general resurrection; and each of the lowest five circles is filled either with the figure of an archbishop, or of a bishop in Mass vestments¹. The lead-work of this window is said to be "in a most perilous state of decay;" and it is much to be desired that immediate steps should be taken for the preservation of the most important example of Early English stained glass in England.

"The extraordinary intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, the tallness of the figures, their vigorous and spirited attitudes, and classical air of their heads,—also the conventional character of the foliated ornaments, as displayed in the borders and white patterns, and which resemble the ornaments of the contemporary sculpture,"—are all characteristics of the Early English style of glass painting, and are all traceable in this window: which "also exhibits the general principles of composition common to any Early English window that contains a number of pictures. Each picture, the design of which is always very simple, is placed in a panel having a stiff-coloured ground, and well-defined border. The panels are also embedded in a stiff-coloured ground. Very little white glass is used, so that the window consists of a mass of rich and variegated colouring, of which the predominant tints are those of the grounds.

¹ C. Winston, *Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral* (Lincoln Vol. of the *Archæol. Institute*.)

The design, owing to the smallness of its parts, is confused when seen from the floor of the transept."—*C. Winston*. The best position for examining it is from the gallery of the triforium or clerestory.

The end of the *south transept* has three wide Early English arches below; above which are four lancet windows; and at the top a rose-window of extreme richness, [Plate VI.], the date of which is about 1350, and which is quite as remarkable as an example of the pure Decorated period as the window in the opposite transept is of the Early English. Pugin has compared the tracery to the fibres of a leaf. The window is set back within a foiled arch, the splays of which are filled with a hollow ornament of very unusual character, and of somewhat doubtful effect. The stained glass in the window consists of fragments collected from different parts of the cathedral, and for the most part Early English. The great richness of the colouring is quite as noticeable here as in the window opposite.

According to the symbolism of the different parts of the church, in the "*Metrical Life of St. Hugh*," (written between the years 1220—1235,) these windows typified the Bishop and the Dean,—"*Ecclesiæ duo sunt oculi:*" the Bishop looked toward the south, the quarter of the Holy Spirit, as though inviting His influence; the Dean toward the north, the region of the devil, in order to watch his advances^m.

XI. The *organ-screen*, through which we enter the choir, is a very beautiful work of the early Decorated

^m See the entire passage in Part III.



CIRCULAR WINDOW IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

period, and deserves careful attention. It comprises four divisions, separated by detached shafts. Each division is subdivided by a bracket, enriched with leafage. The tabernacle-work in the upper part, the grotesques at the angles of the arches and on the brackets on either side of the door, and the frieze of leafage over all, are alike exquisite in design and execution, belonging to the very best period of Gothic art. The open diaper on the lower part of the screen is modern, and has replaced some ancient sculpture which had perished.

The *organ*, which is unfortunately placed, since it intercepts the view in both directions, is by Allen.

XII. The *choir*, from the organ-screen to the altar, now consists of seven bays. Of these, the first five are St. Hugh's work, (1186—1200,) and were probably the earliest part of his cathedral. It is here that we may conceive him labouring with his own hands, according to the description in the "*Metrical Life*":—

"Non solum concedit opes, operamque suorum,
Sed proprii sudoris opem; lapidesque frequenter
Excisos fert in calathis, calcemque tenacem."

The eastern transept (also St. Hugh's work) opens on either side of the fifth bay. The two easternmost bays of the choir belong to the later work, (1270—1282); and, together with the three bays at the back of the altar-screen, form the presbytery, generally known as the "*Angel-choir*," from the sculptures in the spandrels of the arches. This enlargement of the church was

^a *Life*, p. 32. (See Part III.).

rendered necessary by the thronging of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Hugh, who had been canonized in 1220, and whose remains were solemnly translated into the new building, Oct. 6, 1280, at the cost of Bishop Thomas Bek, who was consecrated to the see of St. David's on the same day; (see Part II.—BISHOP SUTTON.)

The piers of the first four bays of the choir (as far as the opening of the transept) are octangular masses of Lincoln stone, with circular shafts of Purbeck at the alternate sides. The classical character of the capitals—shewing Corinthian forms with Early English foliage, [Plate IX.]—should be especially noticed, as one of the indications of a style earlier than that of the nave. The *triforium* is in groups of two arches, circumscribed by a larger one. The tympana of the outer arches are pierced with foiled ornaments of various forms, and the capitals of the shafts greatly resemble those of the piers below. The *clerestory* is disposed in triplets, with small pointed openings, carried on shafts, in the thickness of the wall—passage between the groining of the roof. The windows which run up between the groining ribs are enclosed within mouldings, slightly trefoiled; and are divided by groups of banded shafts, which assist in forming the passage. Vaulting—shafts spring from corbels between the piers. The vault itself has groups of four ribs, passing to a central rib, with bosses of foliage.

The first bay within the choir has some peculiarities which deserve notice. Between the shafts of the tri-

forium is a four-leaved ornament, so raised and exaggerated as to suggest the Norman zigzag. The clerestory has only two windows, and the vaulting-rib is carried between them. The main arches are ornamented with the dog-tooth; and the hood-moulding of that south dies off on the eastern side of the arch in a kind of rope, twisted into a knot, then carried into mouldings which re-appear below, and again twisted round to the back of the arch.

The contrast afforded by this portion of the choir between the later Early English work of the nave and the early Decorated of the Angel-choir, is very interesting and instructive. The leafage especially is much more antique in its forms and arrangements than that which appears in the nave.

The stalls are arranged between the organ-screen and the opening of the eastern transept. They are of the late Decorated period; and are "executed in the most perfect manner, not only as regards variety and beauty of ornamental design, but in accuracy of workmanship, which is frequently deficient in ancient examples of woodwork."—*A. W. Pugin*. The light and graceful canopies are carried quite round the choir. The carving of the misereres, which display the usual foliage, animals, and figures, is especially admirable. The bishop's throne is modern. The pulpit dates from the reign of James I., and is moveable. In the centre of the choir is a brass eagle, with the date 1667.

XIII. The piers of the arches opening to the eastern transept belong to St. Hugh's work. They were

strengthened and banded, however, when the Decorated work was added eastward, and the capitals of the shafts were at the same time entirely altered on the north side of the choir; on the south side only the lower capitals were altered, and not those of the vaulting-shafts. The difference between St. Hugh's work and the Decorated, and the manner in which the two are here made to combine, are worthy of careful attention.

Two oaken beams pass across each transept opening, at the spring of the lower arches and at the level of the triforium. The piers had given way to a considerable extent before they were thus strengthened, owing, it has been suggested, to insecurity in the foundations: since the fosse of the Roman city crossed the cathedral at this place, and its continuations north and south are still visible. The beams are now concealed by a wretched ornamentation of pasteboard Gothic, constructed early in the present century. The iron fencing and gates which separate the choir from the transept are ancient, and very good, with the exception of their cresting, which is not old, and is by no means an improvement.

XIV. The arrangement of the Decorated work or *Angel-choir* [Plate VII.] closely resembles that of St. Hugh's work, but differs, of course, in details and enrichment. The Angel-choir, which must have been completed in the year 1282, and was probably commenced about 1270, consists altogether of five bays, two of which extend westward of the altar-screen. The piers have banded shafts, with rich capitals. A line of the dog-tooth ornament surrounds the arches. In the spandrels



THE PRESBYTERY, OR "ANGEL CHOIR."

are blank trefoils. The triforium has two arches in each bay, each arch subdivided into two, with quatrefoils in the tympana. Clusters of shafts with very rich capitals, and leafed ornaments between the shafts, divide and support the arches, the mouldings above which are much enriched. In the spandrils are the figures of angels, which give the choir its popular name. The large clerestory windows above are of four lights, with quatrefoils in the headings. The vaulting-shafts spring from corbels between the arches, enriched with foliage and small flowers. Below the corbels, and at the termination of the hood-mouldings of the lower arches, are small heads of kings, ladies, monks, and peasants, which deserve notice. The grotesque below the second corbel on the north side (counting from the east—it is in the retrochoir) represents an elf with large ears, and may perhaps be regarded as illustrating the mediæval folk-lore. The groining of the roof, which springs in groups of five ribs, has bosses of excellent foliage. Throughout this work, however, the foliage is still somewhat conventional, and wants much of the naturalism of that decorating the Easter sepulchre, (§ xv.,) with which it should be compared: it is in fact intermediate between that and the Early English foliage of St. Hugh's work and of the nave. A comparison of the four periods will shew the gradual but steady progress of Gothic art. The Early English portion of the choir of Ely, (see that Cathedral,) dating between 1229 and 1254, and the superb Decorated portion of the same choir, commenced in 1338, may also be advantageously compared with the choir of Lincoln.

The sculptured figures of *angels* which fill the spandrels of the triforium arches, rank among the very best examples of Early English art, and will reward a very careful study. With few exceptions, the style of design and execution might be applied to works of the present day; "and ample compensation for all defects will be found in the vigour, freshness, and originality of idea which abound in them. They betray no trace whatever of the stiff Byzantine style so frequent in the English sculpture of the preceding century, and which was still adhered to in the works of the contemporary Italians — Cimabue, Gaddi, Duccio, and others; no formal constraint or superstitious enthusiasm, nor any undue employment of allegory (with which *they* are reproached) offend us in the sculptures of Lincoln; all the freedom and naturalness attributed subsequently to Giotto, who was but an infant when these works were executed, are here anticipated, and strike us in every instance. Complete emancipation from any known prototype or prevailing manner is apparent; the artist dealt with his subject and material with all the originality and freedom of a master^o." All are carved in the same stone (the Lincoln oolite) employed in the architecture of the cathedral. They were wrought in the sculptor's workshop, and subsequently placed in their positions — a fact which is plainly shewn in the wings of the angel with a hawk on his wrist, on the south side of the choir; across

^o C. R. Cockerell, *Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln Cathedral*. (Lincoln Vol. of the Archæol. Institute.)

these wings the joints of the stone were not adjusted in the building exactly as they had been wrought in the workshop.

In Mr. Cockerell's estimate of the value and great beauty of these sculptures all will agree; but there seems by no means sufficient ground for the elaborate explanation which he has given of the series. The arrangement of the triforium admits of three spaces between the arches,—a smaller one at either end, and a third, of double size, in the centre. The five bays of the choir thus contain fifteen spaces on either side; the sculptures in which are thus explained by Mr. Cockerell :—

First bay on the south side, beginning at the south-east angle.

1. Angel of the Day-spring.
2. Angel of the Patriarch David.
3. Angel with scroll, alluding to the prophecies in the Psalms.

Second bay.

4. Angel with trumpet, sounding the fame of David.
5. Angel of Solomon.
6. Angel with scroll: "possibly alluding to the prophecy of Abijah."

Third bay.

7. Angel with double trumpet: (the prophecy verified, and the kingdom divided).
8. Angel with pipe and tabret: representing the fallen state of Israel. "The pipe and tabret are in their feasts."
9. Angel of Daniel, with sealed book.

Fourth bay.

10. Angel of Isaiah. An abortion under his feet. "The children are come to the birth."

11. Angel of Ezekiel, with hawk.

12. Angel of Jeremiah.

Fifth bay.

13. Angel of the twelve minor prophets.

14. Angel holding a small figure (the human soul) towards

15. The Virgin, who supports the Holy Child. An angel is censuring them.

*North side of choir, beginning at the north-west angle.**First bay.*

16. Angel holding the crown of thorns.

17. Angel of Expulsion: he holds the sword with his right hand, and drives forth Adam and Eve with the other.

18. Angel holding the spear, and the sponge on a reed.

Second bay.

19. The Saviour, crowned with thorns, displays the wound in His side, and holds His hand (one finger of which is open) toward Adam and Eve, in the first bay. On the other side an angel holds toward Him a soul, with hands raised in prayer.

20. Angel of the Judgment, with balance.

21. Angel swinging a thurible.

Third bay.

22. Angel with palm-branch; the reward of the righteous.

23. Angel holding crowns: "the crown of glory which fadeth not away."

24. Angel of the Revelation, searching a scroll, (the book of life).

Fourth bay.

- 25. Angel with stringed instrument, and
- 26. Angel with violin, represent "the joys of Heaven, the reign of peace."
- 27. Angel with palm and scroll: "the everlasting Gospel."

Fifth bay.

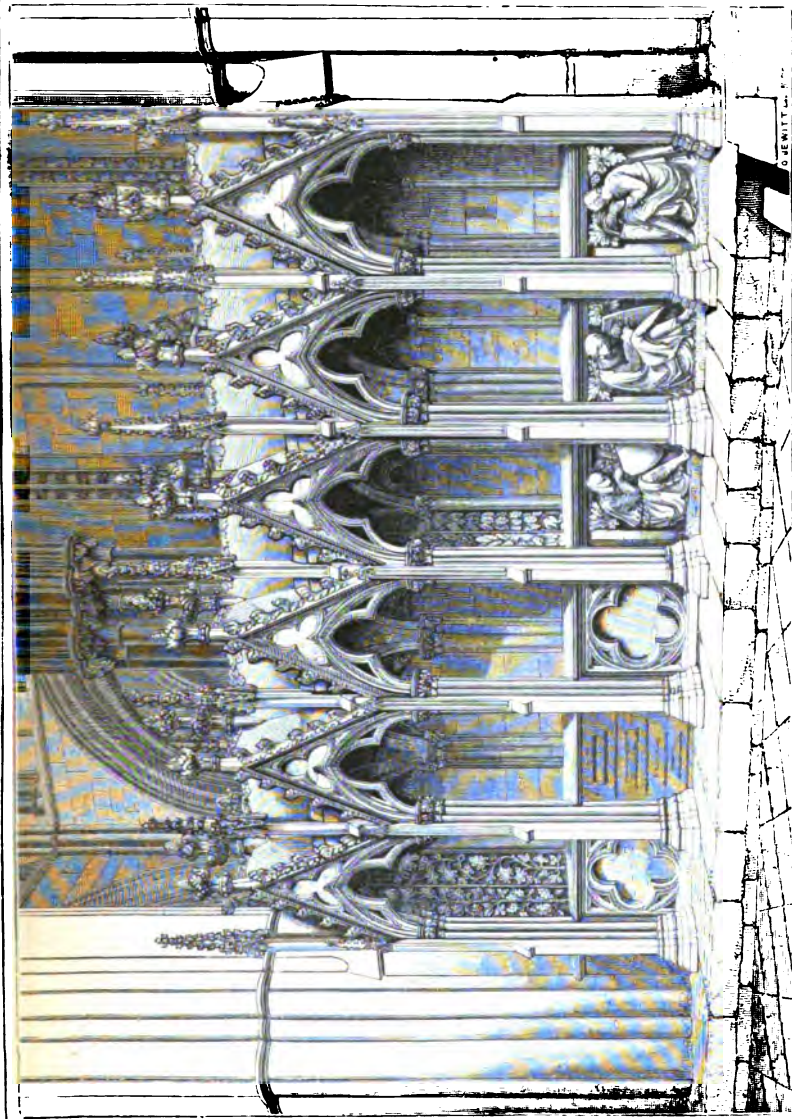
- 28. Angel with harp.
- 29. Angel with the sun and moon. (The Church appears in the moon in the form of a female head, and thence a scroll depending, and containing the doctrines of which she is the sacred depository.)
- 30. Angel with scroll. (Angel of the last chapter of the Revelation: "I am Alpha and Omega.")

It is due to Mr. Cockerell, who has most carefully examined these sculptures, and who has published engravings from the whole series, that his explanations should here be given. They are drawn out and illustrated at considerable length in his paper on the subject: but the indications afforded by the figures themselves are, in fact, by far too slight to admit of more than a very general interpretation. It is not impossible that the angels in each bay refer to one of the orders of the celestial hierarchy, but even this is questionable. The small figures of angels in the south-east transept (see § XXIII.), which, although of earlier date, have a certain resemblance to these, deserve especial notice and comparison. The scrolls carried by the greater number of the choir angels once perhaps contained inscriptions, explaining the design of the entire work: all are now blank.

Mr. Cockerell has pointed out that "two hands, of

very different merit, are plainly exhibited in these works. Of these the best are (the numbers are identical with those used in the description given above) those which range between 4 and 18, including those two numbers. "The remainder, though often of excellent design, are of inferior execution." The purity and dignity of the heads are throughout admirable, and many of the sculptures are of signal merit as compositions. Such is No. 15, in which the figures of the Virgin and Infant Saviour are not unworthy of Giotto. No. 17 is grand in action and expression; No. 23 is especially graceful. "The grand symmetry of the attitude, so entirely relieved from all dryness by variety in the lines of the drapery, and the quiet indications of expression, all display the great master."—*C. R. Cockerell*. Finally, No. 29 is dignified and impressive.

XV. On the north side of the choir, and in the first bay beyond the eastern transept, is a very elaborate tomb, divided into two portions; the eastern part having evidently served as the *Easter sepulchre*. [Plate VIII.] The whole erection is of the very best Decorated period; and the western portion was probably the tomb of the founder, whose name, however, has not been recorded. The whole consists of six bays, divided by a wall in the middle. Canopies rise in front from small buttressing shafts, crowned with pinnacles. Each bay is vaulted, and the wall ends (in the centre, and at the sides) are covered with foliage of oak, vine, and fig, admirably rendered, and examples of the very best naturalism. Remark also the manner in which the



THE EASTER SEPULCHRE.



leaf sprays are laid on the capitals of the shafts, and into the mouldings of the blank arcades at the sides. From the ridge-roof at the back of the canopies, itself crested by a line of leafage, rise large finials of leaves, sharply cut. In front of the panels of the eastern portion are three soldiers, armed, and sleeping, (the Roman guards of the sepulchre. They are found also on the Easter sepulchres at Heckington and at Pattrington-on-Humber, both in Lincolnshire.) "They are admirably composed and executed; the heads, however, have been sadly defaced. They will repay the artist in their sentiment and expression, in their well-contrived groupings, and in the artistic arrangement of their accessories."—*C. W. Cockerell*. The leafage at the angles is especially good; and, owing to the hardness of the stone, the carving of the entire monument is for the most part as fresh as when first executed.

The western part of this tomb is known as that of Bishop Remigius, but it was only so appropriated after the Restoration, by Bishop Fuller, who placed an inscription in memory of Remigius within it.

In the opposite bay, on the south side of the choir, are the tombs of CATHERINE SWYNFORD (Duchess of Lancaster), last wife of John of Gaunt; and of her daughter, JOAN COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND. These tombs were originally side by side, but on the repairing of the church by Bishop Fuller were placed as at present, to the great damage of the Duchess's tomb, which had a fine canopy, now replaced by a very ugly one of debased character. At the east end of this tomb

is a beautiful diapered pattern of open flowers; but brasses and coats of arms have entirely disappeared.

The *altar-screen* dates from the early part of the present century, and is indifferent. Its canopy, which is a later addition, intercepts the view of the east window. The brass altar-rail deserves notice, and the pavement of the eastern bay is richly inlaid with marbles and encaustic tiles.

XVI. The *north choir-aisle*, which we enter from the great transept, is part of St. Hugh's work. At the back of the stalls runs an arcade on triple shafts, having the dog-tooth ornament, and bosses resembling twisted rope (as in the choir) at the springs of the arches. The leafage in the last bay eastward belongs to a later period, and was perhaps the work of the constructors of the Angel-choir.

The *windows* in this aisle are double lancets, with shafts at the angles, and a group of three in the centre, between each lancet. This group springs from a richly carved bracket, which curiously overhangs the arcade below. The arcade itself is of double intersecting arches, the inner arches pointed, the outer trefoiled. The dog's-tooth occurs in the inner mouldings. In both arcades the capitals of the shafts are richly foliated; and in the spandrils are small projecting figures of angels and saints, well worth notice for their excellence of character and expression.

The vaulting is quadripartite, with pointed arches, and is carried from the piers of the choir, and from clustered shafts between the windows.

XVII. The *north-east transept*, opening from the choir-aisle, is, like that, part of St. Hugh's work. It terminates, eastward, in two apsidal chapels. (The eastern termination of St. Hugh's cathedral was apsidal, and extended nearly as far as the present altar, where its foundations have been traced. The central apse was removed when the Decorated presbytery was commenced.) The transept consists of two bays, the first of which is open to the top of the clerestory. The northern bay is vaulted immediately above the first story, and the triforium and clerestory open into the space over this vaulting. The triforium throughout is the same as in the choir. The clerestory is in single lancets, each set in a bay of the vaulting. On the north side there are four of these lancets, the two exterior being greatly narrowed. The space at the back of the clerestory, above the vaulting, is lighted by exterior windows, filled with modern stained glass.

The first apsidal chapel was dedicated to St. Hugh, and has a pointed arcade below its two windows. The north apse, dedicated to the Virgin, had been enlarged to a long parallelogram, (the form of the Lady-chapels at Ely and Peterborough,) but was "restored" to its original shape at the end of the last century, and has consequently lost its architectural value. An enriched doorway, now blocked, opened from this chapel, north, into the "camera communis," or common-room of the canons. Both apses, which are enclosed by wooden screens of Perpendicular date, are desecrated and filled with rubbish.

At the north-west angle of the transept is a very

remarkable *pier*, with detached shafts, the fellow of which occupies a corresponding position in the opposite transept, where it stands quite free, and is consequently better seen than this in the north-east transept, which, probably, for the sake of strength, has been partly built into the choir wall. The pier itself is of Lincoln stone, and octagonal. From four of its sides spring leaves, resembling notches from a stick. Detached shafts of Purbeck, four circular, and four (placed slightly within the others) hexagons, with hollow sides, surround the pier, which is banded half-way up, and terminates in capitals of rich leafage. The effect is very striking and peculiar. A similar arrangement occurs on the west front of Wells, a few years later than Lincoln. It seems confined to England. According to M. Viollet-le-Duc, the crockets between the shafts, and the shafts with hexagonal concave sections, are nowhere found in France^p. It is to these shafts that the description in the "*Metrical Life of St. Hugh*" applies; the Purbeck marble of which they are composed is there said to have been softened with vinegar before it was worked:—

"... nulloque domari

Dignatur ferro, nisi quando domatur ab arte;

Quando superficies nimis laxatur arenæ

Pulsibus, et solidum forti penetratur aceto.

Inspectus lapis iste potest suspendere mentes,

Ambiguas utrum jaspis marmorve sit; at si

Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si marmor, nobile marmor.

Inde columnellas, quæ sic cinxere columnas

Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream."

^p See M. Viollet-le-Duc's letter in Part III.

According to the symbolism, the Purbeck marble figures the spouse :—

“simplex, morosa, laborans.

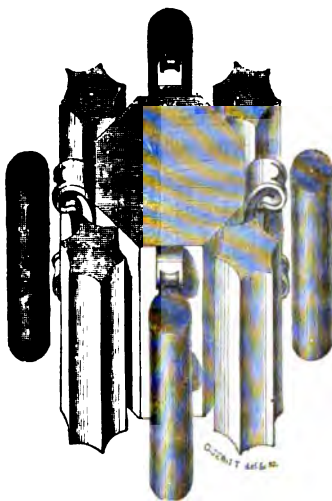
Recte nimirum designat simplicitatem

Planities, splendor mores, nigredo laborem.”

(See the whole passage in Part III.) The banding and ornaments on the second pier (supporting the vaulting) of the transept should also be noticed.



Pillar.



Section.

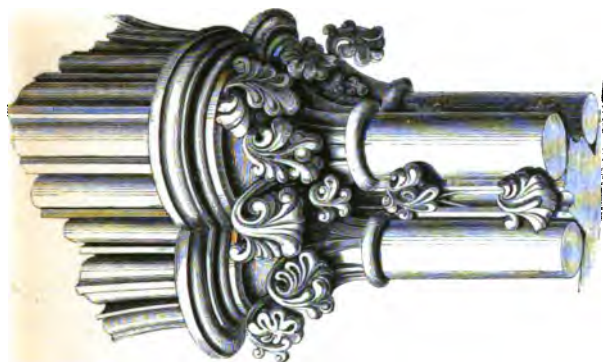
In the west wall a door opens to an ancient vestry, now used as a lumber-room. On the same part of the transept wall are paintings of four bishops,—Bloet, Alexander, Chesney, and De Blois,—interred in this part of the church. The paintings, which are so much decayed as to be scarcely decipherable, were the work of a Venetian, named Damini, in 1728¹. In the north wall a door opens to the cloisters, (§ xxv.)

XVIII. The *choir-aisle*, east of the transept, is Decorated, (1270—1282,) like this portion of the choir itself, and the great difference between it and St. Hugh's work is at once apparent. The windows are filled with pure geometrical tracery, of one design. The wall between each window is ornamented by two blank arches, the spandrls of which are filled with rich tracery, having enwreathed leafage, with lizards, at the angles. A leaf-ornament fills the hollow between the window-shafts; and the hood-mouldings of the windows terminate in small heads. Vaulting-shafts, with enriched capitals, [Plate IX.], rise between the windows; and beneath runs a blind arcade, the ornaments in the quatrefoils of which, and the small heads at the angles

¹ In this transept formerly stood what a survey of 1641 calls the "watching-chamber,"—"a chamber of timber where the searchers of the church used to lie; under which, every night, they had an allowance of bread and beer. At the shutting of the church doors the custom was to toll the greatest of Our Lady's bells forty tolls, and after to go to that place and eat and drink, and then to walk round and search the church." Is it possible that this "chamber of timber" can have been originally the watching-chamber attached to St. Hugh's shrine?



CAPITAL, NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR.



CAPITAL, ARCADE, NORTH AISLE OF PRESBYTERY.

of the trefoils in the tympana, should be noticed. The whole effect of this part of the church is very rich, but, unusually, the ornament is the same throughout. The bosses of the roof, carved in leafage, with birds and grotesques, are admirable, and deserve all possible attention. A doorway in the central bay of the aisle forms the north-west entrance to the cathedral.

Opening from the next bay is the chantry of Bishop FLEMING, founder of Lincoln College, Oxford, — see Pt. II.,—(1420—1431,) desolate and ruined. Within the chantry is the Bishop's effigy. Beneath an altar-tomb on the south side, and seen from the aisle, is a "cadaver" wrapt in a shroud—a figure of frequent occurrence in monuments of this period.

In the last bay of the aisle is the monument of BARTHOLOMEW, LORD BURGHERSH, (died 43 Edward III.,) elder brother of Bishop Henry de Burghersh, whose tomb is opposite. Lord Burghersh served in the wars of Edward II. in France and Scotland, was afterwards present at Cressy, and has obtained the distinction of an honourable notice from the pen of Froissart. He rests on his helmet, from which projects his crest. At the head is the armorial bearing of Burghersh,—a lion rampant, double queued, supported by two angels. Above is a rich canopy. The shields of arms on the side are those of families with whom Lord Burghersh was immediately allied or connected.

In the east window of the aisle, above this tomb, are some medallions of Early English glass, which possibly represent incidents in the life of St. Hugh. Medallions

from the same series (which seems to have belonged originally to St. Hugh's Chapel in the nave) exist in the east window of the south aisle.

XIX. The fine *east window* of the choir is of the same date as those of the aisles, which it resembles in its mouldings. The same arcade runs below it. It is filled with modern stained glass by Messrs. WARD and HUGHES, the leading subject being the Atonement, "which is illustrated by a selection of subjects from the Old and New Testament, and by allusion to the writings of prophets and evangelists." "The groups are well designed, and executed on the principle of bas-relief; the figures being cut out and insulated by the ground of the panel, and rendered rotund and distinct by powerful shadows. . . . In imparting a blue tone to the window, the artists have been influenced by a desire to assist the long-drawn perspective of the choir, and to apparently throw back the east wall, instead of bringing it forward by an opposite treatment." Compared with the ancient examples on either side of it, this glass is thin and poor; but it is far superior to any other modern glass in the cathedral.

XX. Projecting from the east wall of the cathedral, between the north aisle and the choir, are the tombs of ROBERT DE BURGHEESH, (a younger brother of the Bishop,) and of Bishop HENRY DE BURGHEESH, (1320—1342). The first is plain; on the second is the Bishop's effigy. The tombs are placed in a line, with short

^r Report of Lincoln Diocesan Archit. Soc.

buttresses between them. On the north side is a series of very rich canopied niches, in each of which (on the Bishop's tomb) are two (now headless) figures of ecclesiastics, with a desk between them; and (on the Knight's) two figures of children. All are much shattered. In spandrils between the canopies are various armorial bearings connected with the house of Burgersh. At the west end of the tombs is a kind of square buttress, having on the north side two very rich canopied recesses, with emblems of the Passion in the spandrils. In the west front is a single recess, which probably contained a figure of St. Catherine, to whom an altar was dedicated, at the end of the north choir-aisle, by the Bishop and his two brothers: six chaplains were connected with this altar, at which masses were continually said for the repose of the founders. A stone in the pavement immediately in front of the niche is much indented,—it is said by the knees of worshippers before the figure of St. Catherine.

At the back of the altar-screen are the tombs of—Bishop GARDINER, (1695—1705,) with a long string of commendatory verses :—

“Vera si cordi est pietas, fidesque
Si pudor priscus, placidusque mentis
Candor; antiquos imitare mores
Gardinerumque;”—

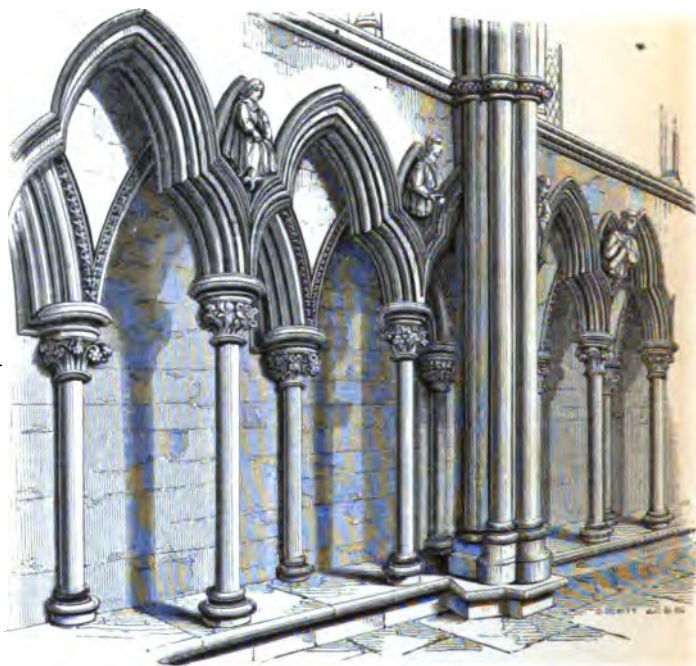
of some members of his family; of Bishop FULLER, (1667—1675); and a memorial placed here by Bishop Fuller for St. Hugh, whose golden shrine (see Pt. II.) was removed into this part of the cathedral in 1282.

XXI. On the south side of the altar, opposite the Burghersh tombs, are two monuments beneath lofty arches, with Decorated canopies. The eastern tomb, which supports the effigy of a knight, much shattered, is that of SIR NICHOLAS DE CANTILUPE, (died 1355); on the western is the effigy of a canon, duly vested, representing a member of the family of Wimbishe, of Norton, whose arms appear on the sides of the tomb.

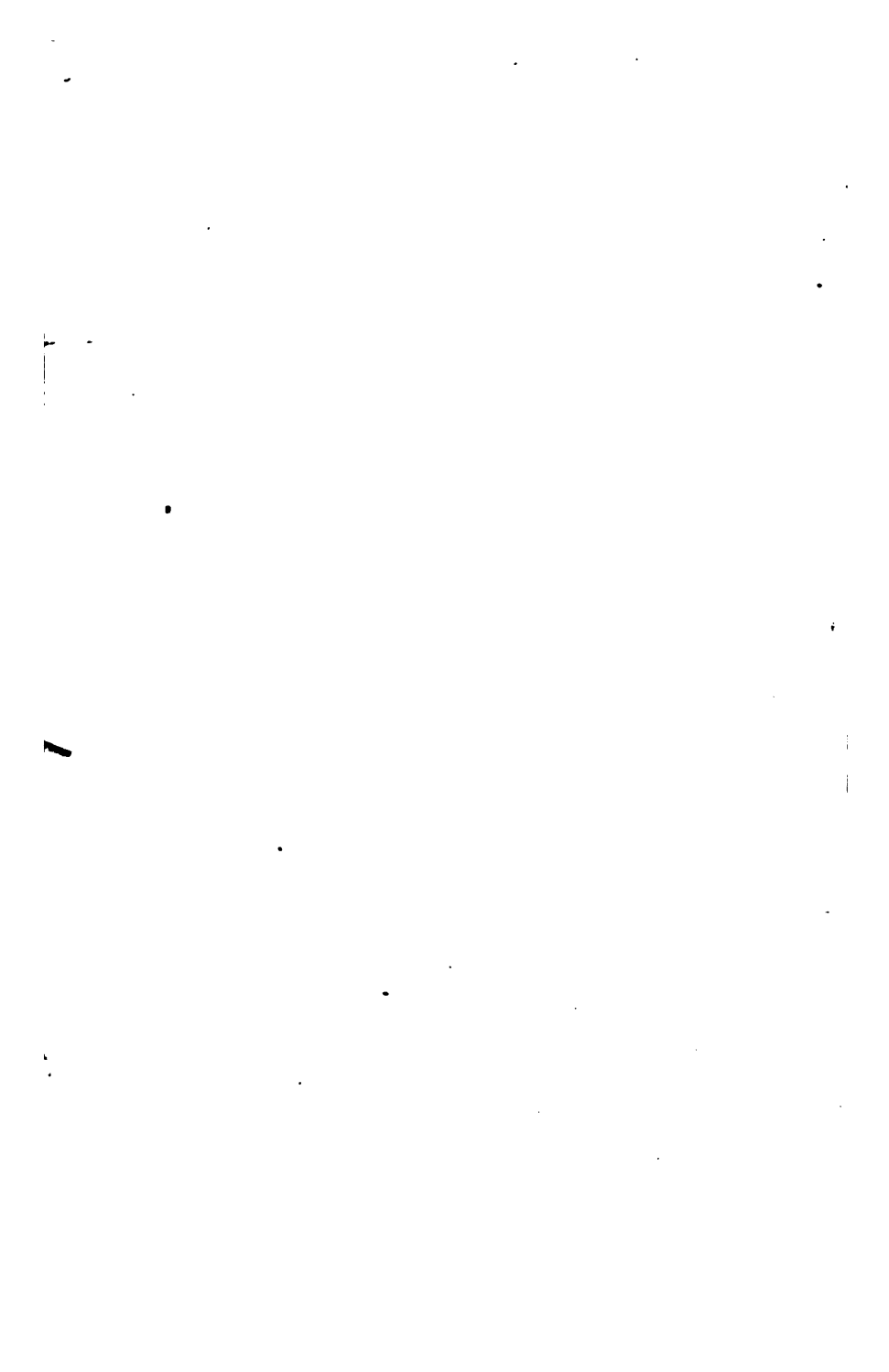
At the east end of the *south choir-aisle* was a chantry founded by Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe. The bowels of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I., who died at Harby, between Lincoln and Newark, were interred on the south side of the Burghersh tombs, beneath a monument on which was her effigy in brass, resembling that in Westminster Abbey. The first of the series of Queen Eleanor's crosses was erected at Lincoln.

XXII. Opening from the second bay of the north choir-aisle is the chantry of Bishop RUSSELL, (1480—1496,) the altar in which was dedicated to St. Blaize. The frieze and ornaments deserve notice. In the chapel is preserved an ancient chair, with lions at the arms.

In the next bay is the entrance to the cathedral from the south-east porch; (see § XXXI.) Stained glass has been introduced in the headings of the doors with good effect. The window below contains the names of the chancellors of the diocese of Lincoln, beginning with Hugh, (1092,) and ending with George Thomas Pretyman, (1814). Under this window is the entrance to Bishop LONGLAND's chantry, (1521—1547,) whose name is referred to in the inscription on the screen



ARCADE OF SOUTH AISLE.





ARCADE OF SOUTH TRANSEPT.

facing the aisle,—“*Longa terra mensuram ejus Dominus dedit.*” Between the words ‘*ejus*’ and ‘*Dominus*’ are the arms of Henry VIII. The windows and roof of this small but very rich chantry have been carefully restored. At the west end are a series of niches, which were apparently never finished. Their bases were filled with minute sculpture, now destroyed.

The arcade [Plate X.] and enrichments of this aisle, as far as the opening of the eastern transept, are the same as those of the aisle opposite.

XXIII. The *south-east transept* differs in its detail from the north-east. Like that, it was originally part of St. Hugh’s work; but some portion of it was rebuilt, apparently about the middle of the thirteenth century. The transept is of two bays, terminating eastward in apsidal chapels. On the west side a small vestry opens, corresponding to that—now closed—in the north-east transept.

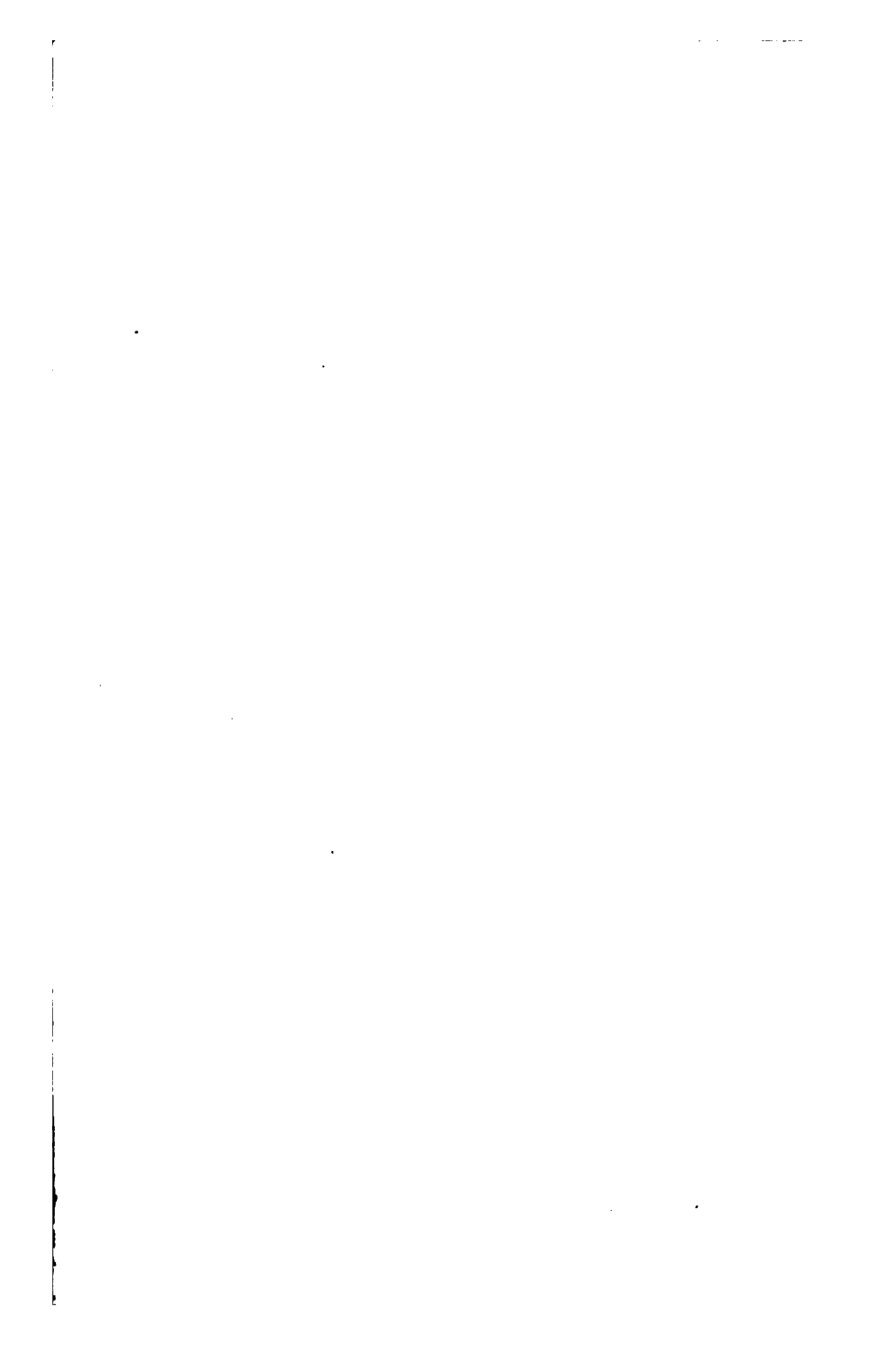
The first or northern bay of the transept, and the lower story of the second, belong to the original building of St. Hugh. The upper stories of the latter are still Early English, but the later and far more enriched character of the work is at once evident. The south end of the transept (which is open throughout, and not vaulted above the pier-arches, as in the north-east) has three tiers of windows, below which the wall is covered with St. Hugh’s double arcade, [Plate XI.], with its plain and trefoiled arches; (see § XVI.) Here the outer arcade has small figures of winged angels projecting from its spandrels; similar figures, holding scrolls, open

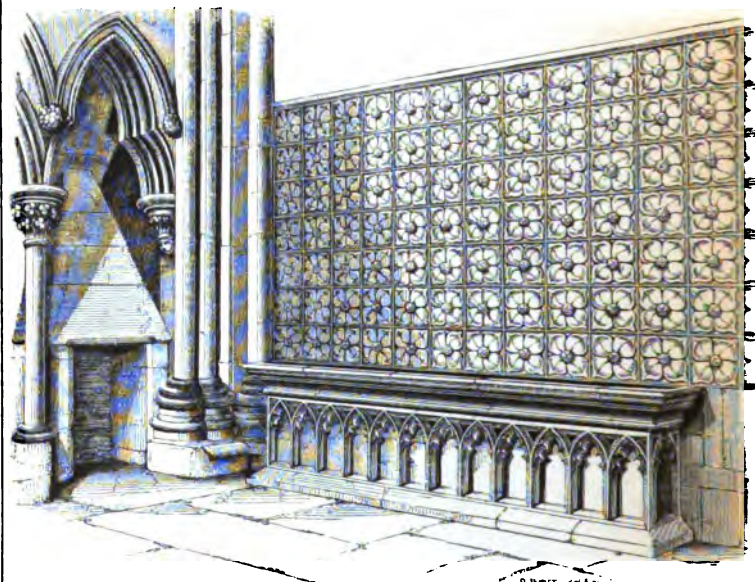
volumes, and musical instruments, occur in the same positions in the arcade which runs round the west chapel of the transept. All are terribly shattered; but they have an especial interest, since they are evidently the prototypes of the grand angelic figures, already described, in the spandrels of the choir.

The south windows of the transept are filled with modern stained glass: the upper tier containing figures from the Old Testament; the middle tier, subjects from the Gospels; and the lowest, from the Acts of the Apostles. The effect of these windows, seen across the church, is unusually good.

The north apse, dedicated to St. Paul, is St. Hugh's work. The leaf ornament in the filleting of the Purbeck shafts should be noticed. The south apse, dedicated to St. Peter, has been restored as a memorial of Bishop KAYE, (died 1853). In the centre is a marble effigy of the bishop, fully vested, holding the Bible and crozier, and lying as if asleep. The light falls on the figure from three windows, filled with simply diapered glass. The effigy is striking, but the upraised hands of the older figures are far more impressive.

On the floor of the transept are stones marked with the names of—Bishop GROSTÈTE, (died 1254); Bishop RICHARD OF GRAVESEND, (died 1280); Bishop RIPPINGDON, (died 1420); and Bishop LEXINGTON, (died 1258); all of whom were buried in this part of the church. Their monuments were destroyed during the Civil War. In the choir-aisle, under the tomb of the Duchess of Lancaster, is a stone bearing the name of the chronicler,





LAVATORY IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, (died 1149,)—Archdeacon of Lincoln.

The ancient *choristers' vestry* opens on the west side of the transept. The double arcade round the walls, and the angels in the spandrels, have already been noticed. In the west wall is a stone chimney, with a hood; and the vestry is separated from the choir-aisle by a stone screen (of Decorated character) covered on both sides with a rich diaper of large open lilies. Below the screen is a plain stone lavatory. [Plate XII.]

The vaulting of the transept, with its bosses, is of the same date as the south bay, (*circa* 1250). The pier at the north-west angle resembles that in the north-east transept, (§ XVII.), but is better seen.

A door in the south-west angle leads through a passage (originally part of the choristers' vestry) to the principal *vestry*, a late Early English building of two stories, the upper of which is used for the preservation of the archives of the cathedral.

XXIV. The aisle west of the transept is St. Hugh's work, like that opposite. The last (or eastern) bay, however, as is evident from the foliage of the bosses, is, like the corresponding bay in the north aisle, of later date, and was probably altered during the building of the presbytery. St. Hugh's double arcade, with figures of angels and saints projecting from the spandrels, lines the south wall. The choir-wall has an arcade of plain arches. Against this wall, in the second bay westward from the transept, are traces of the shrine of LITTLE ST. HUGH,—the Christian boy said to have been crucified

by the Jews in the year 1255. (For the story, which is told at great length by Matthew Paris, and which is the subject of the well-known ballad of "St. Hugh of Lincoln," see Part II.—Bishop LEXINGTON.) After his body had been miraculously discovered, it was interred in the cathedral, and a rich shrine was erected over it. The base of this shrine remains; and the back of the choir-wall has an arcade with geometrical tracery and canopied headings, enriched with the ball-flower, and with large-leaved finials*. The base of the shrine (which is in fact the covering of the tomb) was removed during the repaving of the cathedral in 1790, when a stone coffin was found close below it, lying level with the pavement. The coffin contained the complete skeleton of a boy, 3 feet 3 inches long. "St. Hugh of Lincoln, Martyr," still keeps his place in the Roman Calendar.

XXV. Returning into the north-east transept, we enter the *cloister* through a doorway in the north wall. The cloister (which, it may be remarked, is unusually placed, extending from the eastern transept to about half-way down the northern front of the great transept) was the work of Bishop OLIVER SUTTON, (1280—1300); and its early Decorated windows deserve attention, as do the carved bosses of its oaken roof, which are full of beauty and variety. Three sides of Bishop Sutton's cloister remain, but the fourth, or northern walk, was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, together with the

* A drawing of this shrine, before its destruction, will be found in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

library, which ranges above it. In this part of the cloister are preserved some fragments of Roman altars and sepulchral inscriptions; and the lid of a stone coffin, which has been called that of Remigius, the founder of the Norman cathedral. For this appropriation, however, there is no authority, although the coffin-lid is beyond all doubt of very early character, and deserves attention. It is ornamented by three ovals, formed by interlacing lines. In the uppermost is a figure of the Saviour; in that at the foot a bishop (?). At the sides are figures of angels.

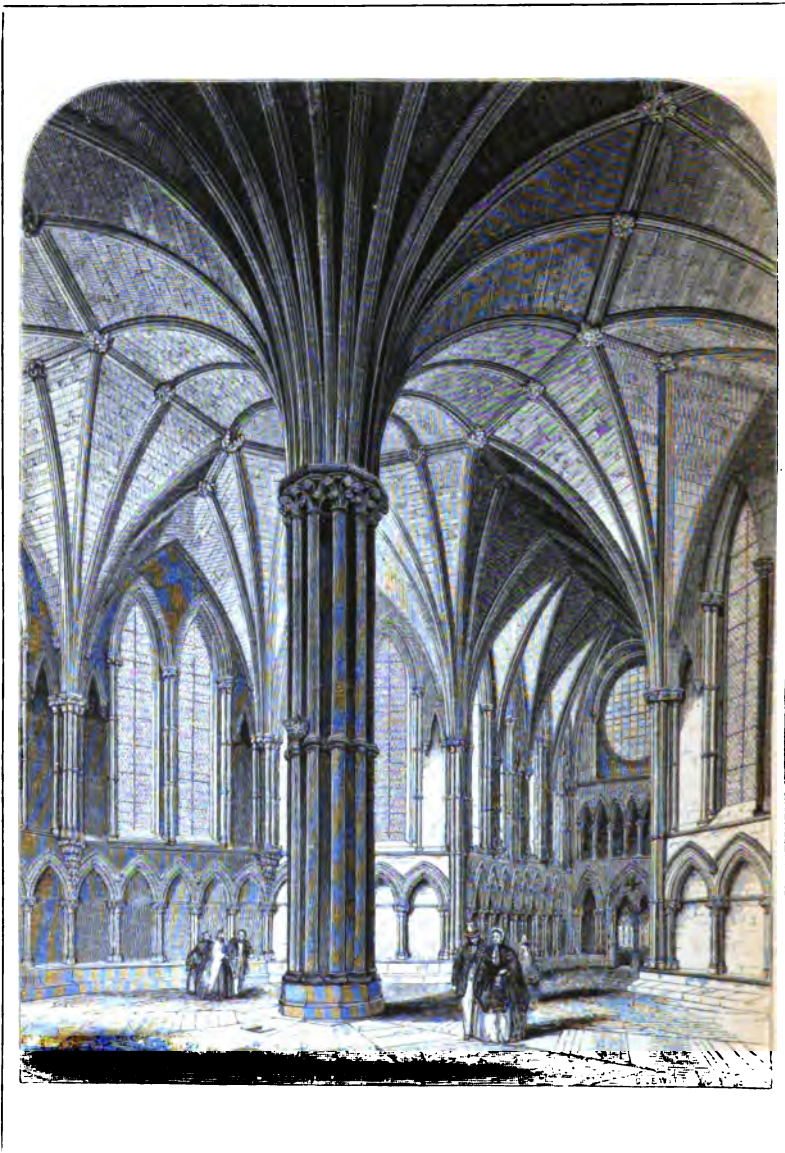
Under the staircase of the library, at the north-east angle of the cloister, is a fragment of early Norman sculpture disinterred from the Cathedral Close, which is of still higher interest. It represents an apostle, perhaps St. John, holding a book, and crowned with a circular disc, or aureole. At the side is a remarkable ornament, which seems to have formed part of an oval figure, (a rainbow, or *vesica piscis* ?) in which was probably the Saviour. Part of the robe is visible, together with the emblems of St. Mark and St. John,—the lion and eagle. Here are also the original "Swineherd of Stow," removed from the southern turret of the west front in 1850; and a good figure of a bishop (?); [see *Title-page*.]

In the open square of the cloister is a shed covering a Roman tessellated pavement, discovered some years since. The wall of the Roman city stretched across the site of the cathedral nearly in a line with the eastern wall of the cloister.

XXVI. The view of the *central tower* from the north-east angle of the cloisters is fine, in spite of an indifferent foreground. To the top of the first story above the roof the tower is Early English, and the work most probably of Bishop Grostête, (see § IX.) The shafts in this story are notched, somewhat in the manner of the remarkable piers at the angles of the transept, (§§ XVII., XXIII.) The upper or Decorated portion of the tower is very fine and massive, and seems to have been completed during the episcopate of St. John D'Alderby, about the year 1306.

In this tower is hung the famous bell known as "Great Tom of Lincoln," first cast in 1610 at a temporary foundry set up in the Minster-yard, but broken up in consequence of a fissure in 1834, and sent to London to be recast. In April, 1835, the new bell was hung in the great tower. Its weight is 5 tons 8 cwt.,—exactly a ton heavier than its predecessor; and it is 7 inches more in diameter at the mouth, measuring 6 ft. 10½ inches, instead of 6 ft. 3½. Round the crown of the bell is the following inscription, repeated from the old bell:—"Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedens, suaviter sonans ad salutem." Round the lip are the names of the Chapter at the time of the recasting. Great Tom of Lincoln¹ ranks third in size

¹ This is the only great bell in England which is occasionally swung. The hours are struck on it by a hammer. "We ascended one of the other towers to see Great Tom," writes Southey, (Esopriella's Letters). "At first it disappointed me, but the disappointment wore off, and we became satisfied that it was as



INTERIOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

among English bells. It is exceeded by Great Tom of Oxford and by Great Peter of Exeter.

The buttresses of the great transept run to the top of the clerestory, and terminate in lofty pinnacles higher than the roof. Each pinnacle contains a niche for a statue. There are pinnacles at the angles of the north front; and a group of five lancets, lighting the roof, are here seen above the rose-window. The exterior of this window, already mentioned, (§ x.,) may be examined from this point.

XXVII. The *chapter-house*, [Plate XIII.], which is of much earlier date than the cloisters, opens from the eastern walk. Its west front is best seen from the north walk, and shews a circular window-opening, without tracery, above which are three small gables. A pointed arcade runs along the base of all three, below three lancet-lights in the central gable, and a single lancet in each of the others.

It has been usual to attribute the chapter-house to St. Hugh, on the strength of a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis' "Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln;" but a careful examination will shew that it is considerably later, and that it cannot date much before the middle of the thirteenth century". The doorway in the cloister, much enriched, is formed by two great a thing as it was said to be. A tall man might stand in it upright; the mouth measures one-and-twenty English feet in circumference; and it would be a large tree of which the girth equalled the size of the middle."

" St. Hugh is expressly said by Giraldus to have built the chapter-house (*capitulum*) anew from the foundation. The

pointed arches, circumscribed with a larger one, with a pierced quatrefoil in the tympanum; on either side is a blank arch. Beyond the doorway is a vestibule, lighted by four windows, below which runs a blank arcade. The circular window at the west end, with the shafts at its sides, should here be noticed from within. The chapter-house itself is a decagon. In each bay are two pointed windows, between which rise clustered vaulting-shafts of Purbeck. These shafts spring from corbels, which resemble those in the Decorated work of the choir, and cannot be very much earlier. An arcade lines the walls below the windows. The central pillar is surrounded by ten Purbeck shafts, hexagons, and hollowed at the sides. Fronting the east, above the filleting, is a bracket sculptured with oak-leaves and acorns, upon which once probably stood a figure of the Virgin. A hole in the floor beneath is said to have been used for supporting the silver processional cross. The bosses of the groined roof should be noticed. Properly restored,—with stained glass in the windows and encaustic tiles on the floor, and thoroughly cleansed from the wash with which

author of the "Metrical Life" implies the same, but also asserts that it remained unfinished at St. Hugh's death :—

*"Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo."*

The Rev. G. A. Poole (in a paper printed in the Transactions of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society) suggests that the lower part of the existing chapter-house is St. Hugh's work; but admits that one-half of the interior shafts—the vaulting with its central support, and the external abutments—are of later date.

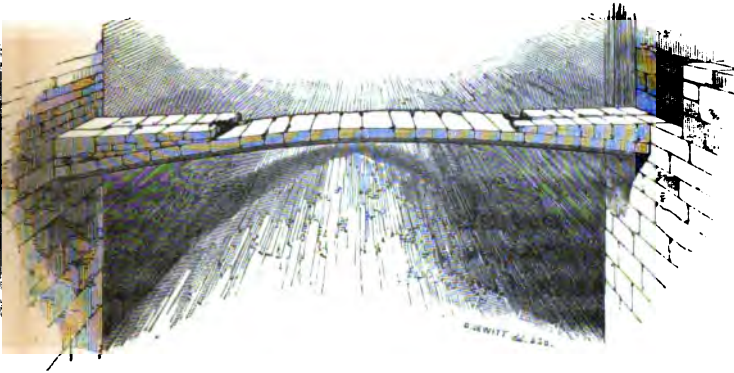
shafts and carvings are covered,—this chapter-house would be fine and impressive. It is earlier than the chapter-house of Salisbury, (*circa* 1280,) or than that of Wells, (*circa* 1300); and consequently forms an interesting example in the series.

XXVIII. The north walk of the cloister, above which was the ancient *library*, was nearly destroyed by fire, together with the greater part of the volumes it contained, about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was then rebuilt as we see it at present, chiefly at the cost of Dr. Michael Honeywood, the then dean, who refurnished the library, and placed in it a most valuable collection of MSS. and early printed books. The *manuscripts* are arranged in the first room at the head of the stairs, and consist for the most part of Latin Bibles, Psalters, Glosses, and *Postillæ*, on vellum and paper. The most important MS. here, however, is a volume of old English romances, dating about 1430-40, and collected by Robert de Thornton, Archdeacon of Bedford in 1450, who was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. The *printed books*, about 4,500 volumes, are placed in the principal library, extending over the whole length of the north walk. The collection is still valuable, but the most remarkable volumes, including seven specimens of Caxton, were all sold after the visit of Dr. Dibdin to the library, who became himself the purchaser of "certaine booke," the glories of which he duly set before the world in a tract entitled "The Lincolne Nosegay." Some Roman urns, and other antiquities, are preserved

in the library, together with a curious leaden plate, bearing an inscription to the memory of William D'Eyncourt, a relative of Bishop Remigius. On the wall hangs a fine portrait of Dean Honeywood, by CORNELIUS JANSEN.

XXIX. Returning into the cathedral, the architectural student may ascend the west front, and inspect the remarkable "*stone beam*" which crosses the space between the western towers. The ascent is made from the north-west buttress-turret of the west front; from which galleries, lighted by loopholes, extend along the front at different levels. In these galleries the junction of the Norman wall with the Early English may be readily traced; and the difference between the dressings of the stone-work should be observed: the lines of the Norman chisel run diagonally across the stone, while the other shews the peculiar mark of what is called the "*tooth-chisel*." In the chambers in the upper part of the screen the gables formerly surmounting the Norman front may be traced. The view over the Wolds from the roof of the front is striking. From the roof a door opens into the north-west tower; and thence, through the belfry chamber, upon the vaulting of the nave,—just above which is the so-called "*stone beam*." This is an arch, composed of twenty-three stones of unequal lengths, but uniformly 11 inches in depth and 1 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in breadth. For what purpose, or at what exact period it was constructed, cannot readily be determined; but it seems most probable that the arch was erected before the upper portions of the

towers were built, in order to ascertain whether the great additional weight could be safely borne. "The



Stone Beam.

arch is constructed of stone from the Lincoln quarries. . . . The exposed surfaces are wrought with the toothed chisel in a careless and imperfect manner, and the joints, contrary to what might have been expected, are decidedly ill-formed, and have beds of mortar full half an inch in thickness within them. There is no trace of iron being used in the construction of the arch, either in dowels or other form. . . . The arch vibrates perceptibly when jumped upon; and I am of opinion that the constant practice of visitors thus to prove its elastic properties has a tendency to impair its stability²."

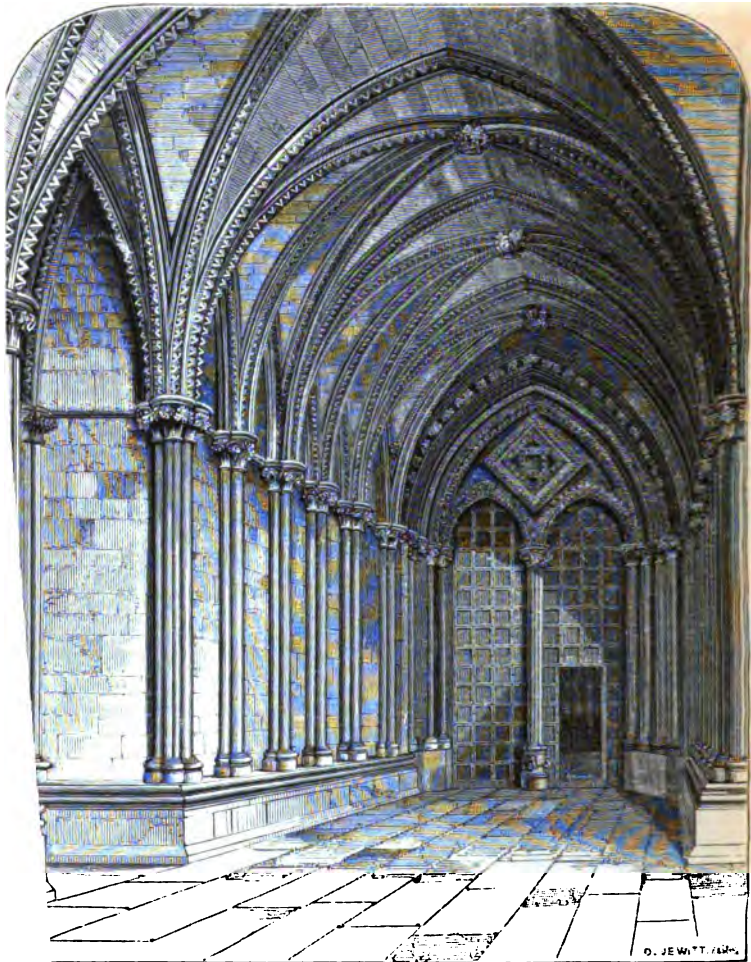
² W. A. Nicholson, Transactions of Institute of British Architects. Mr. Nicholson has given an elevation, plan, and section of the arch, in illustration of his paper.

The *western towers*, close under which the visitor finds himself when on the west front, are Norman to the top of the arcades, and from that point rich late Decorated. The graceful windows in the four sides of the towers, and the parapets above, deserve notice. Each tower was formerly surmounted by a spire of timber and lead. These were removed in 1818,—no doubt to the injury of the general outline. The north tower is known as “Great Tom’s,” since the famous bell hung in it before it was recast. The south tower is St. Hugh’s.

The descent from the west front may be made by a staircase leading into the south-west wing. In descending, one of the series of ancient sculptures already described, (§ III.,) on the south side of the Norman front, and consequently sheltered by the extended Early English wing, may be closely inspected. Its subject is the Deluge. It should be observed also, that the large recesses which form so marked a feature in the Norman portion of the west front are continued on the south side, though now concealed by the Early English wing. Some of the capitals, of the time of Bishop Alexander, must have been covered almost as soon as they were erected; they are as fresh as if newly executed; whereas the corresponding capitals in the west front are much weather-worn.

XXX. Passing out of the cathedral, we proceed to an examination of its *exterior*, beginning on the south side. Beyond the south-west chapels the line of the nave is well seen, each bay marked by its flying but-





INTERIOR OF THE GALILEE PORCH.

tress. An arcade of pointed arches is carried quite along the clerestory wall; and from the parapet above (which is an addition of the Decorated period) project six remarkable canopied niches, with brackets; an unusual degree of richness and variety is thus gained for the roof-line.

The massive buttresses rising to the top of the transept should here be noticed, as well as the Norman gable and arcading at the side of the south-west tower. Observe, also, three grotesque figures in the blank arches of the gable which forms the eastern end of St. Hugh's chapel, (in a line with the south-west wing of the west front').

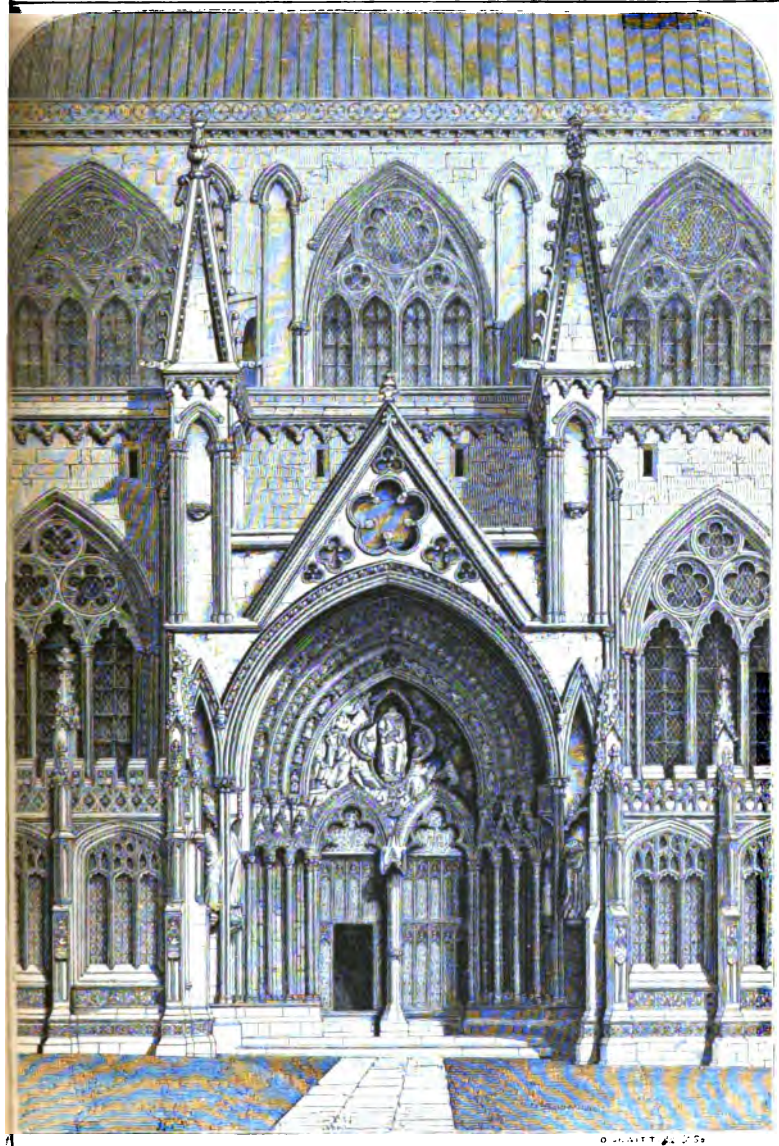
The *Galilee porch* [Plate XV.] forms an approach to the cathedral at the south-west corner of the great transept. It is throughout Early English, but is no doubt later than St. Hugh's, or the first Early English portion of the cathedral. It is cruciform in plan. The eastern limb is lined by an arcade of five arches, with capitals of leafage. The ribs of the groined roof are covered with

7 One of these is popularly said to represent the "Devil looking over Lincoln." "The devil," says Fuller, (Worthies, Lincolnshire,) "is the map of malice, and his envy (as God's mercy) is over all his works. It grieves him whatever is given to God, crying out with that flesh-devil, 'Ut quid hæc perditio?' 'What needs this waste?' On which account he is supposed to have overlooked this church, when first finished, with a torve and tetrick countenance, as maligning men's costly devotion, and that they should be so expensive in God's service. But it is suspicious, that some who account themselves saints, behold such fabrics with little better looks."

dog-tooth moulding. The doorway into the church is divided by a central shaft, and has a diamond-shaped opening in the tympanum. The arches are encrusted with leafage. At the base of the central shaft are three lizard-like monsters with human heads, distinguished by long hair and tufted beards: all three look upwards, in the act of climbing the shaft. The transept opens south and north, with three pointed arches, all highly enriched with the dog-tooth. The wonderful freshness of the stone, as sharp as if sculptured but yesterday, should be especially noticed. The "*Curia vocata le Galilee*" is frequently referred to in the archives of the cathedral, the Chapter of which possessed the right of holding a court, no doubt in this porch.

XXXI. The Decorated rose-window in the south wall of the great transept should be remarked, (§ x.); and, beyond the transept, the Early English buttresses of the choir, (St. Hugh's work,) with their ornaments of shafts and enriched capitals. Their heavy triangular headings, which rise above the parapet, constitute the first approach to true pinnacles in Early English work.

Passing the eastern transept, the outline of which, with its apsidal chapels, deserves notice for the grace of its composition, we reach the *south-east entrance*, or porch of the presbytery. [Plate XVI.] A porch in this position is frequent in French cathedrals, but no other example occurs in England. It is formed by a deeply-recessed arch, lined with canopied niches. The doorway is divided by a central shaft, and in the tympanum is



THE SOUTH-EAST PORCH.

a figure of the Saviour in an elongated quatrefoil, with kneeling angels on either side. On one side the good are breaking from their tombs, and are carried upward by angels; on the other, goat-like demons are dragging the wicked downward to the mouth of hell, which is seen below the principal figure. The inner and outer door-mouldings have been filled with small figures of saints, many of which remain. They are set in a hollow fret-work of leafage, very gracefully arranged, which may be compared with that surrounding the rose-window of the south transept, within the cathedral. The central shaft has a bracket and a canopy for a figure. Within the arch, and under canopies, are the remains of four figures, which are too completely shattered to be identified. The two outer are barefooted, and probably represented women: the two inner have their feet covered by long robes. Of these statues, and of the composition representing the Last Judgment, Flaxman thought very highly, and has referred to them in one of his lectures. Mr. Cockerell, on the other hand, thinks that, "though of the prosperous period of art, the merit of the 'Judgment' as compared with the angels of the choir, may well be questioned: at all events, it is clearly (as are also the four statues in the porch) by another hand*."

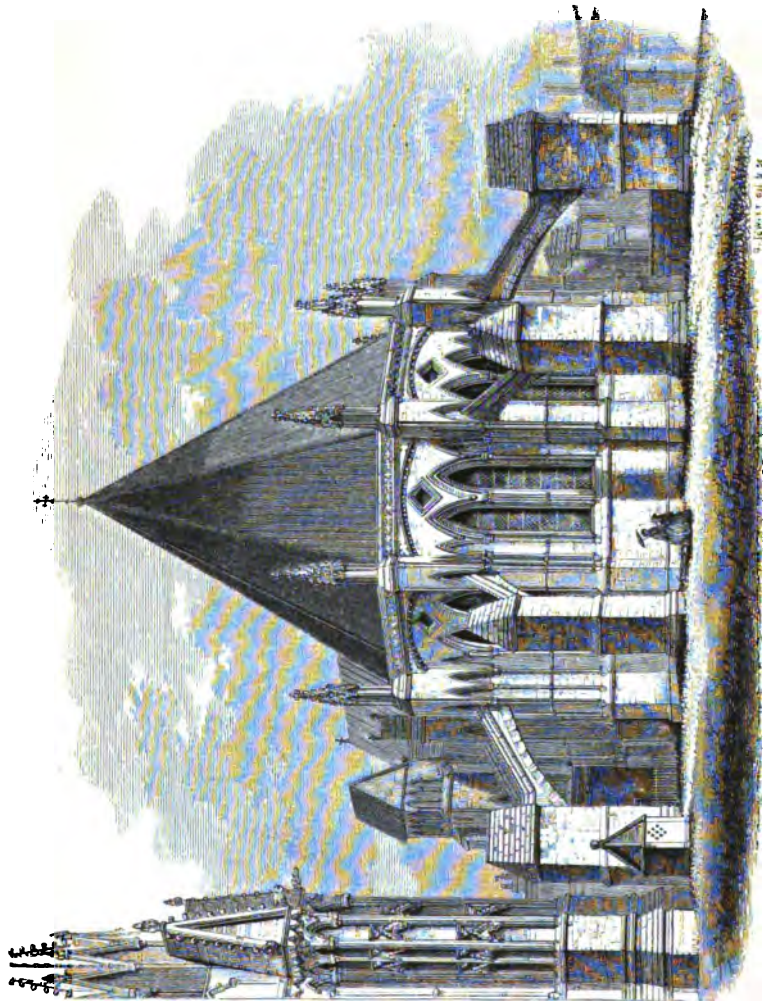
On either side of this porch are the rich monumental chapels of Bishop Russell (§ xxii.) and Bishop Longland, (§ xxii.) The buttresses and upper windows of

* C. R. Cockerell, *Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln Cathedral*. (Lincoln Vol. of the *Archæol. Institute*.)

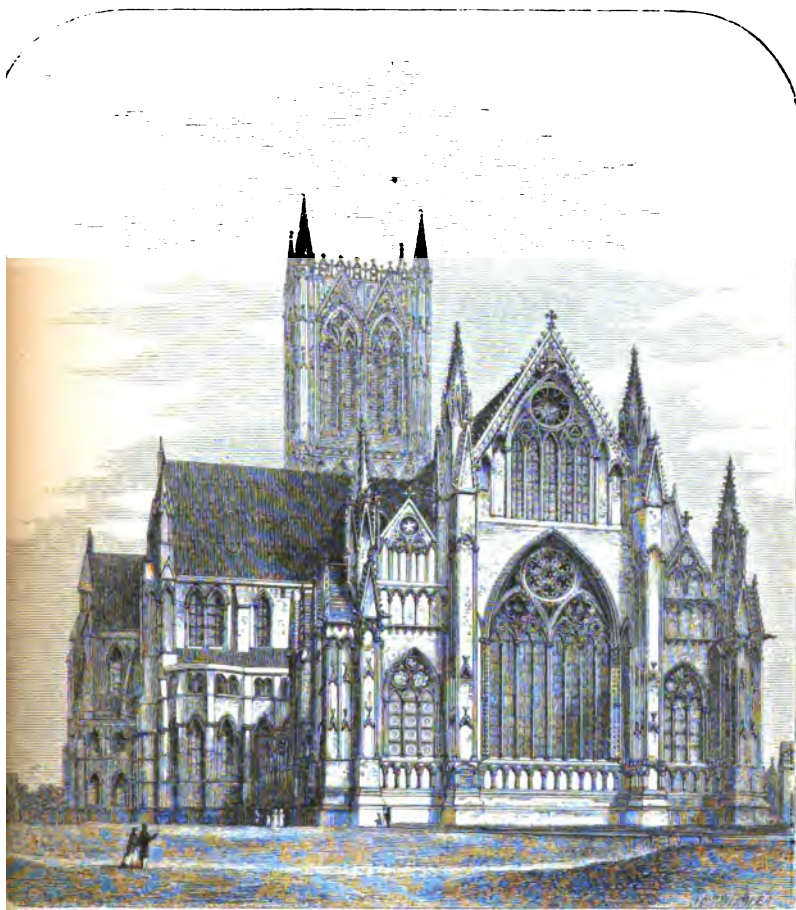
the presbytery should here be remarked, and compared with those of the earlier choir and nave. "Against the south-east buttress is a group of the King and Queen, Edward I. and Eleanor, of consummate grandeur and interest. The King bears his shield, and tramples on the enemy; the beloved wife of his youth follows him closely. There is a freedom and energy of style in these figures which are rarely seen in any period. Both have unhappily lost their heads, and that within these few years. In the next pier is the statue of a queen, who may possibly be designed for Edward's second spouse, the French princess Margaret."—*C. R. Cockerell.*

The fine composition of the *eastern end* of the cathedral [Plate XVII.]—with its deep buttresses, its arcades, the noble east window, and the enriched gable above it—is well seen from the lawn above which it rises. Near the north-east buttress is a small building which covers an ancient well; and beyond, again, the eight flying buttresses of the chapter-house at once attract attention. [Plate XIV.] The effect of this building, surmounted by its "high and bold roof," was pronounced "truly grand" by Pugin. The buttresses, it has been suggested, may have been rendered necessary "by some giving way" of the original groining.

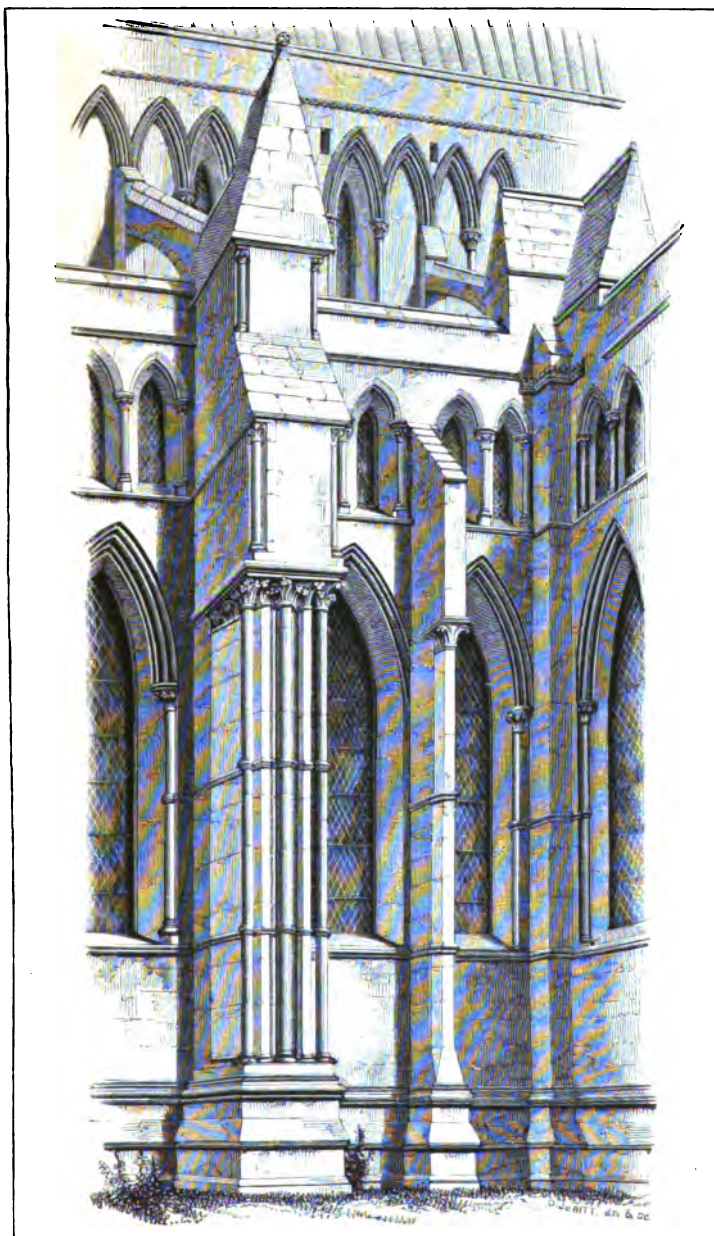
On the *north* side of the cathedral the principal points to be noticed are the Early English rose-window of the transept (§ x.) and the Norman gable against the north face of the western tower. The buttresses here resemble those on the south side. [Plate XVIII.]



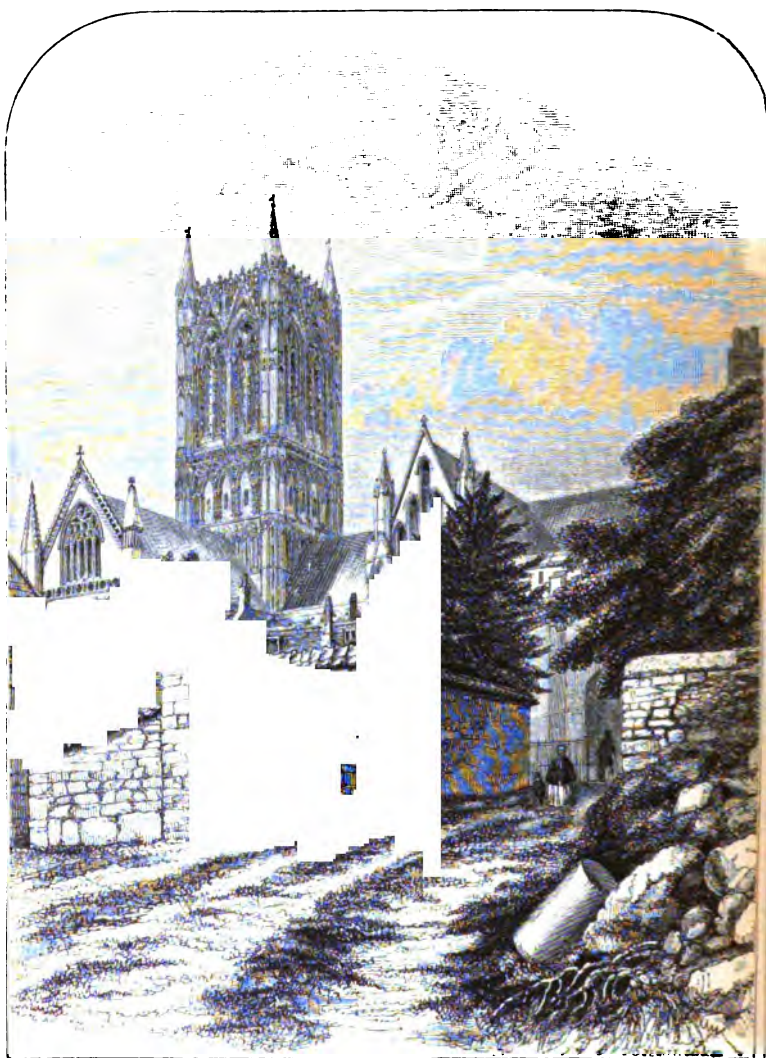
THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, EXTERIOR



THE EAST END.



PORTION OF NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR.



CENTRAL TOWER, FROM BELOW THE VICARS' CLOSE.

XXXII. The *episcopal palace*, originally founded, it seems probable, by Bishop Bloet, and added to by many of his successors, stood on the south side of the cathedral, on the edge of the hill, overlooking a wide extent of country. The principal remains are those of the great hall, begun by St. Hugh and completed by Bishop Hugh of Wells; and of some portions added by Bishop Alnwick. The palace, which was very stately and extensive, was much neglected after the Reformation, and was stripped of its lead and fell into a ruined state during the Civil War. A most careful and excellent account of it, by Mr. E. J. Willson, will be found in the Lincoln volume of the Archæological Institute. The view of the cathedral from the palace is one of the best to be obtained. That from the river below is unusually picturesque, [*Frontispiece*,] and shews the great length of the building to advantage. A very striking view of the central tower [Plate XIX.] occurs below the Vicar's Close.

The *deanery*, on the north side of the cathedral, was founded during the episcopate of St. Hugh, and, like the palace, suffered much during the Civil War. The present deanery is, however, modern; and the only remains of the old buildings still in their original situation are the walls toward Eastgate. An ancient chimney and some fragments of sculpture are preserved on the garden-side of this wall.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE great diocese of Lincoln, which until it was dismembered in the reign of Henry VIII. was by far the most extensive in England*, grew out of the union of three Saxon bishoprics,—those of *Lindsey* or *Sidnacester*, (Stow in Lincolnshire); *Leicester*; and *Dorchester* in Oxfordshire.

After Paulinus (A.D. 627) had converted and baptized Edwin of Northumbria, (see YORK, Pt. II.,) he proceeded to preach Christianity throughout Lindsey, (Lindisse,) the northern portion of Lincolnshire, of which Lincoln, the Roman *Lindum Colonia*, was the chief place. Here he converted Blaecca, the “præfect” of the city, with all his household; and here he built a church of stone, which Bede calls “opus egregium,” in which he consecrated Honorius to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The existing church of St. Paul, (Paulinus,) a little north-west of the cathedral, and on higher ground, is said to occupy the site of this, the first resting-place of the faith in Lincoln. It stands not far from a blackened Roman arch, one of the

* From the Conquest to the middle of the sixteenth century it stretched from the Thames to the Humber, embracing the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, Leicester, Rutland, and Lincoln. In 1541 the see of Peterborough, presiding over Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire, and in 1542 that of Oxford, for the whole of that county, were founded by Henry VIII.

ancient gates of the city, which twelve hundred years ago must have flung its shadow on the figure of the Christian Apostle,—“*vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu*”^b.”

[A.D. 678—958. SEE OF LINDSEY.] The province of Lindsey, like the rest of Lincolnshire, was either at this time dependent on Mercia, or soon afterwards became so. After the establishment of the Mercian bishopric at Lichfield (see that Cathedral) in the year 656, Lindsey formed a part of the wide district presided over by that see; until, in 678, Egfrid of Northumbria defeated the Mercian King Wulfere, and making good his power over Lindsey, erected it into a separate diocese, the seat of which he fixed at *Sidnacester*, now represented in all probability by Stow, a village between Lincoln and Gainsborough, famous for its fine Norman church. A succession of bishops of Lindsey (the “*Lindisfarorum provincia*” of Bede) can be traced from EADHED, who was consecrated to the see in 678, to BERHTRED, whose last signature occurs in 869. For nearly a century from this date the see seems to have remained unfilled, owing no doubt to the ravages of the Northmen, who in this interval established themselves in Mercia and Northumbria. In 953 occurs the signature of LEOFWIN as bishop of Lindsey. Before 958 he had removed the see to Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, probably for greater security. One later bishop of Lindsey is, however, recorded,—SIGEFERTH, whose signatures occur between the years 997—1004.

[A.D. 680—869. SEE OF LEICESTER.] Eadhed was consecrated to the see of Lindsey (or Sidnacester) by Archbishop Theodorus, one of whose main objects was to increase the number of bishoprics in the different Saxon kingdoms. (See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.) It was probably at his suggestion, and no doubt with his co-operation, that

^b Bede, H. E., lib. ii. c. xvi.

the see was established by Egfrid after his conquest of Lindsey in 678. Two years later (680) Theodorus divided the great Mercian bishopric, and erected a new see at *Leicester*, to which he consecrated CUTHWIN. After Cuthwin's death, in 691, the see of Leicester was administered by the famous Wilfrid of York, until the year 705, when it was re-united to the original Mercian see of Lichfield. So it continued until 737, in which year the see of Leicester again appears, with TORTHHELM as its bishop. From this time until the year 869, there is a regular succession of bishops of Leicester, the last of whom was CEOLRED, (840—869). At his death the see was removed to *Dorchester*, in Oxfordshire. The Northmen had already commenced their attacks on Mercia, in which they soon made good their settlements, and Leicester became one of the five great Danish burghs. As in East Anglia, (see NORWICH CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.,) it is probable that the Mercian Danes were, as the Saxon Chronicle represents them, "heathen men," although they may have embraced a nominal Christianity. At all events, no bishop appears within the bounds of the Danelagh.

[A.D. 870—1067. SEE OF DORCHESTER.] *Dorchester*, to which place the see of Leicester was removed, had been (A.D. 634—676) the seat of the West Saxon bishopric, until Headda (676—705) removed it to Winchester, as had been originally intended; (see WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.) The district in which *Dorchester* is situated seems about this time to have passed under the control of Mercia, and it was probably within the bounds of that kingdom when the see of Leicester was removed to it, about the year 870. But the ravages of the Northmen soon broke up the ancient limits, and ALHEARD, the first bishop of *Dorchester*, who died of the plague in 897, is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle as one of King Alfred's "most excellent thanes." From Alheard to WULFWY, who died

c Sax. Chron., ad ann. 897.

in 1067, we have the names (and little besides) of eleven bishops of Dorchester. Of these, the fourth from Alheard is *LEOFWIN*, who, a little before 958, removed the see of Lindsey to Dorchester. Remigius, the successor of Wulfwy, removed the chief place of the three sees which had thus become united, to *Lincoln*.

SEE OF LINCOLN. [A.D. 1067—1092.] REMIGIUS, or Rémi, a Benedictine of Fécamp, had accompanied the Conqueror on his expedition, to which he is said to have contributed a ship and twenty armed men. According to Giraldus he was the leader (*decurio*) of the ten knights sent as the contingent of the Abbot of Fécamp. A leaden plate preserved in the Chapter Library at Lincoln, seems to prove that Remigius was related to the powerful house of Deincourt, and thus allied to the Conqueror^d, who promised him an English bishopric if the expedition should be successful. On the death of Wulfwy in 1067 Remigius was accordingly consecrated to the see of Dorchester.

The Norman bishop found his vast diocese in a state of utter disorganization; and at once "perambulated the whole of it, so that by his sermons and instructions he wrought a happy reformation in every part." The lofty mind and excellent disposition (*beatissimum ingenium*) of Remigius are contrasted by William of Malmesbury with his dwarfish stature:—"Ipse pro exiguitate corporis pene portentum hominis videbatur; luctabatur excellere et foris eminere animus, eratque 'gratior exiguo veniens e corpore virtus.'" "Statura parvus, sed corde magnus," says Henry of Huntingdon, "colore fuscus sed operibus venustus." In the year 1071 he accompanied Archbishop Lanfranc and

^d The inscription runs as follows (the letters in italics are supplied conjecturally):—"Hic jacet *Willm* Filius *Walteri* *Aiencuriensis* consanguinei *Remigii* Episcopi *Lincolniensis* qui hanc ecclesiam fecit. Præfatus *Willm* regia styrpe progenitus dum in curia regis *Willi* Filii Magni regis *Willi* qui Angliam conquisivit aleretur II. Kal. Novembris obiit."

Thomas, Archbishop of York, to Rome, where the Pope, Alexander II., deposed from their sees both Archbishop Thomas and Remigius, the former as being the son of a priest, the latter on account of the bargain he had made with the Conqueror. Both were restored, however, by the interest of Lanfranc.

Remigius, who, like most of the Norman bishops, had a passion for building, prepared to erect a cathedral at Dorchester. But the Council of London, in 1072, ordered the removal of episcopal sees from "vills" to cities; and it was no doubt in consequence of this decree that the see of Dorchester was removed to Lincoln—as it certainly was before 1073. Lincoln was situated at the extreme end of the diocese; but the site was at least not more inconvenient than that of Dorchester; and the strength of the position—on high ground, and close under the walls of the great royal fortress then in the course of erection—was probably a main consideration here, as it was in fixing the sites of the other sees removed at this time. Accordingly, Remigius, in the words of Henry of Huntingdon, himself Archdeacon of Lincoln, "built in a place strong and fair, a strong and fair church to the Virgin of virgins; which was both pleasant to God's servants, and, as the time required, invincible to their enemies."

The cathedral thus built by Remigius occupied the south-east quarter of the original Roman city, the castle taking up the south-west quarter. The exact site, "on the brow of the hill beyond the river Witham, had," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "been presignified by certain visions, miracles, signs, and wonders." Remigius lived to complete it, "after the manner of the church of Rouen, which he had set before him as his pattern in all things;" and placed twenty-one canons in it. He died, however, four

* Giraldus.

days before that fixed for the consecration, (May 8, 1092); and was buried in the new church, before the altar of the Holy Cross. He was never canonized; but numerous miracles were said to have taken place at his tomb; and his episcopal ring dipped in water was held to produce an excellent febrifuge.

All that remains of the church of Remigius is a portion of the west front; (Pt. I. § III.) Its eastern termination was apsidal. The cathedral of Rouen, which Remigius copied, was destroyed by fire in 1200¹.

[A.D. 1094—1123.] ROBERT BLOET, after the see had been vacant two years, was consecrated by Archbishop Anselm and seven other bishops, at Hastings—the day after Battle Abbey was consecrated, (Feb. 11). Bishop Robert was Chancellor to William Rufus, and his appointment to the see of Lincoln was made after that King's illness at Gloucester, when "he promised many promises to God, to lead his own life righteously, and never more for money again to sell God's churches²." The new cathedral was consecrated during Bishop Robert's episcopate; and he removed (against their will) the monks from Stow, in Lincolnshire, to Eynsham, a newly restored monastery in Oxfordshire, in order to appropriate the manor of Stow for the use of the bishops of Lincoln. Bishop Robert died suddenly in the park at Woodstock, Jan. 10, 1123. "It befel," says the Saxon Chronicle, "on a Wednesday that the King (Henry I.) was riding in his deer-fold, and the Bishop Roger of Salisbury on one side of him, and the Bishop

¹ For a very interesting conjectural "restoration" of the church built by Remigius, see a paper by the Rev. G. A. Poole, in the Transactions of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society. "Where," says Mr. Poole, "it may be presumed that Rouen retains its original *dimensions* (for as to the actual *fabric*, not a stone which Remigius beheld remains on another) it agrees remarkably with the Lincoln which we have recovered."

² Sax. Chron.

Robert Bloet of Lincoln on the other side of him; and they were there riding and talking. Then the Bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the King, 'Lord King, I am dying!' And the King alighted down from his horse, and lifted him betwixt his arms, and caused him to be borne to his inn; and he was then forthwith dead; and he was conveyed to Lincoln with great worship, and buried before St. Mary's altar." Bishop Robert enjoyed no good reputation in his own time; and Bale, the "foul-mouthed," asserts that the "church keepers" (at Lincoln) "were sore annoyed (they say) with his sowle and other walking spretes till that place was purged by prayers."

[A.D. 1123—1148.] ALEXANDER, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Chief Justice, was nephew of Roger, the powerful Bishop of Salisbury, (see that Cathedral, Pt. II.,) by whose influence he was raised to the episcopate. As in the case of his brother Nigel, Bishop of Ely, (see ELY, Pt. II.,) Alexander's fortunes were involved in those of his uncle Bishop Roger; and with him he was seized and imprisoned during the Council of Oxford, 1139. On this occasion Bishop Alexander was compelled to resign to the King his castles of Sleaford and Newark, which he had himself built. He had built another castle at Banbury, and four monasteries, at Dorchester, Haverholme, Thame, and Sempringham. A great fire occurred at Lincoln in June 1123, shortly before Alexander's consecration, which burnt nearly the whole of the city; and in 1141 occurred a second fire, which did great mischief to the cathedral, and destroyed the whole of the wooden roofs. Bishop Alexander vaulted it with stone, and so repaired and adorned it, according to Henry of Huntingdon, that it was "more beautiful than before." The doorways in the west front are assigned, with great probability, to this bishop, (Pt. I. § III.); who was buried in his own cathedral.

[A.D. 1148—1167.] ROBERT DE CHESNEY, Archdeacon of Leicester. This bishop built the episcopal palace at Lincoln,

the site of which he bought "at a great price;" and pledged the ornaments of his church in order to do so, to "Aaron the Jew" in the sum of £300.

The death of Bishop Robert occurred in the height of the controversy between the King and Archbishop Becket; and the see of Lincoln remained vacant nearly seventeen years; a certain monk of Thame, one of the many prophets of the time, predicting that it would never be filled again. In the year 1173, however, GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, natural son of Henry II., was appointed to the see, under a dispensation from the Pope, Alexander III., on account of his being under age. But Geoffry was never consecrated, although for seven years he retained the temporalities; and he resigned Lincoln^b before

[A.D. 1183—1184.] WALTER OF COUTANCES (so-called although, according to Giraldus, he was a native of Cornwall) was appointed by the King. The year afterwards he was translated to Rouen.

From 1184 to 1186 the see was again vacant. In the year 1185 occurred that great earthquake "such as there had not been in England since the beginning of the world," says Hoveden, which shattered the cathedral of Lincoln and "split it in two from top to bottom¹."

[A.D. 1186—1200.] HUGH OF AVALON, or OF BURGUNDY; best known as St. HUGH OF LINCOLN, the founder of the existing cathedral, which was far advanced during his lifetime, and on which he laboured with his own hands. There were many Lives of St. Hugh, of which the longest and most important, written by a Benedictine monk who was the

^b In 1191 he was consecrated Archbishop of York.

¹ "Terræ motus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petræ enim scissæ sunt, domus lapideæ ceciderunt, ecclesia Lincolnensis metropolitana scissa est a summo deorsum. Contigit enim terræ motus iste in crastino die dominicæ in ramis palmarum, viz. xvii. Kal. Maii."—*Hoveden*, ad ann. 1185.

Bishop's chaplain and constant associate, remains in MS. in the Bodleian. An abridgment of this life, dating probably from the fourteenth century, is printed in the *Bibliotheca Ascetica* of Bernard Pezius, (vol. x.); and reprinted in the 153rd vol. of Migne's *Patrologia*. A very curious and interesting metrical life, written to all appearance immediately upon the canonization of Hugh, (A.D. 1220,) has been admirably edited by the Rev. J. F. Dimock, (Lincoln, 1860,) whose brief sketch of St. Hugh's life can hardly be improved.

"St. Hugh was born about the year 1140, of a knightly Burgundian family, which took its name from Avalon, a place about three miles distant from Grenoble. At an early age he lost his mother, and soon afterwards entered a priory of Regular Canons established in the neighbourhood of his father's castle. To this step he was led by the precepts and example of his widowed father; who at the same time retired from the world, and became an inmate of the same priory. At this time Hugh was a mere child; according to the best authority not quite eight, but according to others, ten years old.

"At the age of eighteen he was ordained deacon. And some time afterwards, probably when about twenty-four years old, was made prior of a neighbouring cell, a dependency of his convent. Within two or three years, it would seem, he deserted this post, and betook himself to the Great Chartreuse, near Grenoble, then in the zenith of its fame, for the rigid austerity of its rules, and the earnest piety of its members.

"After ten years spent in the most exemplary devotion to his duties as a Carthusian monk, he was advanced to the office of procurator, a post second only to that of the prior of the house. This post he can have held but a year or two. Had he held it a short time longer, he would have succeeded, with little doubt, to the priory of the Great Chartreuse, then one of the proudest pre-eminences in the

religious world. Such, however, was not to be his destiny. Henry the Second of England was founding a Carthusian convent, at Witham, in Somersetshire, the first of the Order in this country. Difficulties and disasters obstructed the royal purpose. At length, hearing of the fame of Hugh, and assured certainly that he was the man of all others who would succeed in carrying his designs into full and good effect, Henry managed, with difficulty, to procure his removal for this purpose into England. This was probably in A.D. 1175 or 1176.

"Hugh did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. All difficulties soon vanished, upon his taking the rule of Witham . . . of which establishment, which soon became the admiration of all . . . he was prior about ten years. He became an especial favourite of Henry II. In the year 1186, mainly through the royal influence, and that of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, he was made Bishop of Lincoln.

"Sorely had he striven against this removal from the religious calm of his beloved Carthusian cell to so different a sphere of action. But, once compelled to acquiesce, he brought all his determined earnestness and untiring energy to the duties of his new station. It may be safely said that a more zealous and indefatigable prelate than was Bishop Hugh of Lincoln seldom, if ever, presided over a see of our own or any other Christian land. He was Bishop of Lincoln for a little more than fourteen years, dying in the autumn of A.D. 1200¹."

Several remarkable anecdotes, principally from the prose lives, illustrating the character of St. Hugh,—his "resolute unbending firmness of purpose in what he believed to be right, his "cool and excellent judgment," his "singular and exquisite tact," and his mixture of cheerfulness with asceticism,—will be found in Mr. Dimock's Introduction.

¹ J. F. Dimock, *Introd.*, i.—iii.

His great work at Lincoln was the rebuilding of his cathedral ; which, as we have seen, had been ruined by an earthquake the year before his consecration. The remarkable description of this work, contained in the *Metrical Life*, will be found in Part III.

St. Hugh was canonized by the Pope, Honorius III., in 1220 ; and in 1280 his body was translated, with great ceremony, into the newly-built eastern part of the cathedral—the so-called “Angel choir.” This translation took place at the cost of Thomas Bek, who on the same day was consecrated to the see of St. David’s ; (see *post*, Bp. OLIVER SURTON). Numerous miracles were said to be worked at his shrine. “Up to the time of the Reformation, no such saint in the English calendar, with one exception, had his fame more widely spread, or received more earnest reverence. The one exception is, of course, St. Thomas Becket ; with whom, however, Hugh of Lincoln has no cause to fear comparison. With fully as stern a resolution to defend the rights of the Church against the encroachments of the State, in many other points the character of Hugh was a far finer one, and his consistent life more saint-like, than can ever be truly predicated of Becket. So long as his cathedral stands, in its grand beauty, the name of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln cannot altogether be forgotten. . . . He only wants now to be rightly known, in order to be more rightly appreciated. We can still, I hope, admire the upright, honest, fearless man ; we can still revere the earnest, holy, Christian bishop *.”

The emblem which generally accompanies representations of St. Hugh is his pet swan, which is said to have taken up its abode at Stow, the episcopal manor-house, on the day of the Bishop’s installation at Lincoln. It formed an especial attachment to St. Hugh ; and displayed extreme grief on his last visit to Stow, before going to

* Dimock, *Introd.*, xii., xiii.

London, where he died. "Hæc avis," says the "Metrical Life:"—

"——— in vita candens, in funere cantans,
Sancti pontificis vitam mortemque figurat:
Candens dum vivit, notat hunc vixisse pudicum,
Cantans dum moritur, notat hunc decedere tutum."

Bishop Hugh died at London, and was brought to Lincoln for interment, the journey taking up six days. The Kings of England and Scotland (John and William) had met by appointment at Lincoln, and assisted in conveying the bier into the cathedral. Three archbishops, nine bishops, "populus abbatum, turba priorum," were also present.

[A.D. 1203—1206.] WILLIAM OF BLOIS. After the death of St. Hugh there was for some time a dispute between the King and the Chapter as to the right of election to the vacant see. William of Blois, Prebendary and Precentor of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter in 1201; but was not consecrated until 1203.

From 1206, in which year William of Blois died, to 1209, the see was again vacant. In that year

[A.D. 1209—1235.] HUGH OF WELLS, of which cathedral he had been Archdeacon, and Canon of Lincoln, was appointed. The interdict pronounced by Pope Innocent was still in force; and Hugh was ordered by King John to proceed for consecration to the Archbishop of Rouen, rather than to Stephen Langton, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop elect, however, found Archbishop Stephen at Melun, and was there consecrated by him: John accordingly seized the temporalities of Lincoln, which he retained until after his submission to Pandulf, in 1213.

Little is recorded of Bishop Hugh's long episcopate. It is probable that the cathedral commenced by St. Hugh was far advanced, if not completed, by him; as the great hall of the episcopal palace certainly was. In 1220, after an ex-amination by Archbishop Stephen Langton, and John, Abbot of Fountains, of the miracles said to have been per-

formed at the tomb of St. Hugh, his canonization was solemnly decreed by the Pope, Honorius III.

Bishop Hugh of Wells was buried in his own cathedral, at Lincoln.

[A.D. 1235—1253]. ROBERT GROSTÈTE; a worthy successor of St. Hugh, and one of the most remarkable men of the thirteenth century.

“Robert Grostète was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the ‘Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.’ He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, and Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he began to act with holy rigour unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavoured to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New Year’s day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity; . . . but those immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority belonged justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate. . . . The dean and chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their papal exemptions; the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage; the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King’s justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital

offences. His allies were the new Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy. He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature, or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself¹."

The Pope whom Robert Grosst te thus resisted was Innocent IV.,—the last opponent of the great Emperor, Frederick II.,—than whom no Roman pontiff carried the papal claims farther. "Grosst te received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Louvain. Grosst te was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope. His answer was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: 'I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. . . . You cannot in your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my resistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church^m.'"

The passion of Innocent, on receiving this letter, is said to have been extreme; but he listened at last to the more moderate counsels of his cardinals, and "acknowledged, almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by the difficulties of the times, and the irresistible urgency of partisans, to measures which he did not altogether approve."

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. 468, 469.

^m Id.

"On Grostête's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in his church at Lincoln. But it was said, likewise, that the inexorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grostête himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes, before the Pope. 'Is it thou, Sinibald, thou miserable Pope, who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the church of Lincoln? . . . Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be despised in thy turn!' The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed; his armies were defeated; he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV."^a

Bishop Robert was the correspondent and friend of Adam Marsh, (de Marisco,) the learned Franciscan friar, whose letters have been printed in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer; and was, according to Matthew Paris, the special adviser and confessor of the great Earl Simon de Montfort. He died, however, long before the Barons' War. His character can only fairly be understood in connection with the history of his time,—when England lay more completely than ever, before or since, under the control of the Pope. Matthew Paris, little as he admired him while living, was not sparing of panegyric after his death. "Fuit Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus, Prælatorum correptor, Monachorum corrector, Presbyterorum director, Clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, Scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor. In mensa refectionis

^a Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. pp. 468, 469.

corporalis dapsilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis : in mensa vero spirituali devotus, lachrymosus et contritus : in officio Pontificali sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis *."

Unlike St. Hugh, or his contemporary, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Grostête was never solemnly canonized. Like Waltheof, who was interred at Crowland, however, and like Simon de Montfort, Bishop Robert was canonized by the voice of the English people. His tomb, in the south-east transept of his cathedral, was especially revered ; and, as direct proof of his sanctity, an oil was said to distil from it. No direct record exists of his works in the cathedral ; but some portion of the central tower is generally assigned to him, (Pt. I. § ix.) ; and the roofing of the nave may possibly be his work. There was a tradition that the fragments of a magic head, constructed by Bishop Robert, were preserved in the vaulting :—

" Fabricat ære caput . . .

Dum caput erigitur corruiat ima petens.

Scinditur in cineres . . .

Dicunt vulgares, quod adhuc Lincolnia mater

In volta capitis fragmina servat ea p."

Robert Grostête died at Buckden, Oct. 10, 1253. His letters have been edited, with a most valuable Introduction, by H. R. Luard, (Longmans, 1861).

[A.D. 1254—1258.] HENRY LEXINGTON, Dean of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had named Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford. The most remarkable event of his episcopate was the persecution of the Jews of Lincoln on account of the death of "Little St. Hugh," or St. Hugh the Less,—a child who was found dead in a well, and who was said to have been sacrificed at the Passover, in contempt of our

* M. Paris, p. 754, (ed. Watts).

† Ric. Mon. Bardeniensis, de Vita R. Grosthead—Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 826.

Lord, by the Jews. A process was commenced against the Jews by the authorities and clergy of Lincoln; and thirty-two of them were in consequence put to death: some of whom were tied to the feet of wild horses, dragged out of the city till they were dead, and then hanged on gibbets at the common place of execution. A long account of the whole proceeding will be found in Matthew Paris. The ballad of "St. Hugh of Lincoln" records the popular version of it; and Chaucer thus alludes to it at the end of the "Prioress' Tale":—

"O younge Hew of Lincolne slain also,
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
For it n'is but a litel while ago,
Pray eke for us, we sinful folk unstable,
That of His mercie God so merciable
On us His grete mercie multiplie,
For reverence of His Mother Marie."

Eighteen Jews had been put to death at Norwich twenty years before, on a similar accusation. (See *NORWICH CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.) The shrine of St. Hugh has been noticed, Pt. I. § XXIV. It was opened in 1790, when the skeleton of a child was found in the coffin.

[A.D. 1258—1279.] **RICHARD OF GRAVESEND**, Dean of Lincoln. With the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, he adhered to the party of the Barons; and, like those Bishops, was excommunicated by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Ottoboni.

[A.D. 1280—1299.] **OLIVER SUTTON**, Dean of Lincoln. During his episcopate the cloister, to which he contributed fifty marks, was built; the cathedral precinct was enclosed with a wall, "because of the homicides and other atrocities perpetrated by thieves and malefactors;" and houses for the Vicars Choral were built at the Bishop's own expense. But the great event of Bishop Oliver's episcopate was the translation of the body of St. Hugh, which, on the octave of St. Michael, 1280, was solemnly deposited within

its shrine in the new presbytery, or "Angel choir." Edward the First and his Queen; Edmund "the King's brother," and the Queen of Navarre, his wife; the Archbishops of Canterbury (John Peckham) and Edessa¹; many bishops, and 230 knights, were present. Two conduits outside the gate of the Bishop's manor ran with wine. The whole cost of the translation was defrayed by Thomas Bek, who on the same day was consecrated to the bishopric of St. David's. He was brother of Antony, the powerful Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, who at his own consecration, three years and a-half afterwards, translated the remains of St. William of York at his own expense.

[A.D. 1300—1320.] JOHN D'ALDERBY, Chancellor of Lincoln.

The upper part of the central tower dates from his episcopate. Letters of indulgence exist, dated March 9, 1307, granting a relaxation of forty days, "de injunctâ sibi penitentiâ," to any one who should assist in building the tower. In 1310 the bowels of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby, were interred in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXI.) Little is recorded of the personal life of Bishop D'Alderby, who died at Stow in 1320, and was buried in the south transept, where his remains were afterwards placed in a silver shrine. "Tanquam sanctus colebatur," says Godwin; and numerous attempts were made, but in vain, to procure his canonization during the subsequent episcopate of Bishop Burghersh. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb.

Anthony Bek, Chancellor of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter on Bishop D'Alderby's death. His election was, however, annulled by the Pope, who appointed

[A.D. 1320—1340.] HENRY BURGHESH, Treasurer, and afterwards Chancellor, of England; grandson of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, the great Baron of Leeds Castle, by

¹ The Crusaders had identified Edessa with Rages in Media. This Archbishop was an Englishman, (Rishanger's Chron., p. 54). His see had been for many years in the hands of the infidels.

whose influence he obtained his bishopric. Not long before his death, which occurred at Ghent, Bishop Burghersh had enclosed a park or deer chase, at Tinghurst, and in order to do so effectually had seized on certain lands held by some of his poorer neighbours. Their imprecations on the Bishop were loud and deep; and Walsingham asserts that after his death he appeared to one of his friends, dressed in a short coat of Lincoln green, with a horn slung round his neck, and carrying a bow and arrows. As a punishment for his wrongs against the poor, he declared that he had been made keeper of the chase at Tinghurst; and that he was condemned to wander about it until the fences should be again thrown down and the lands restored to their former owners. The Canons of Lincoln accordingly, having been duly informed of the Bishop's distress, proceeded to relieve him in the way he had pointed out. Bishop Burghersh's tomb remains at the end of the retro-choir. (Pt. I. § XVIII.)

[A.D. 1342—1347.] THOMAS BEK, nephew of the great Bishop of Durham, and brother of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Norwich.

[A.D. 1347—1362.] JOHN GYNWELL, Archdeacon of Northampton.

[A.D. 1363—1398.] JOHN BOKYNGHAM, Archdeacon of Northampton, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. During his episcopate the head of St. Hugh, in its golden reliquary, was stolen from the cathedral. The thieves, after stripping away the gold and jewels, flung the head into a field; where, says Knighton, it was watched by a crow until recovered by the confession of the thieves themselves, and brought back to Lincoln². Bishop Bokyngham was, much against his will, translated to Lichfield by the Pope, in 1398. He refused, however, to accept a bishopric the

² Knighton, ap. Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*. The same chronicler asserts that many similar robberies of shrines and relics took place about this time.

revenues of which were so much less than those of Lincoln, and retired to Canterbury, where he died a monk.

John de Welburn was treasurer of Lincoln from 1350 to 1380, and was a great benefactor to the cathedral. Among others of his benefactions enumerated in a volume preserved in the Chapter Record-room are,—
 “Qui eciam ut Custos Sancti Hugonis, fecit reparari ii. costas superiores feretri ejusdem, cum uno tabernaculo et i. ymagine Sancti Pauli stantis in eodem ex parte boriali, cum plato de auro puro, quæ fuerunt pro antea depictæ; et eciam canopeum novum de ligno pro eodem. Qui eciam, post furacionem et spoliacionem capitis Sancti Hugonis, de novo fecit cum auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornari et reparari. Qui eciam existens magister fabricæ, fuit principalis causa movens de factura duarum voltarum campanilium in fine occidentali monasterii, et eciam voltæ altioris campanilis. Ac eciam fecit fieri Reges in fine occidentali predicta; ac eciam facturam horilogii quod vocatur Clok. Et inceptor et consultor in-cepcionis facturæ stallorum novorum in ecclesia cathedrali Lincoln.”

[A.D. 1398, translated to Winchester 1405.] HENRY BEAUFORT, son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, who was buried at Lincoln during his episcopate. Her tomb remains in the cathedral; (Pt. I. § xv.) For a long notice of Cardinal Beaufort, whose death-bed has been so wonderfully and so unfairly painted by Shakespeare, see WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Part II. He died in 1447, and was buried at Winchester, where his superb chantry still remains.

[A.D. 1405—1419.] PHILIP REPINGDON, Abbot of Leicester, and Chancellor of Oxford, was for some time before his elevation to the episcopate a vigorous Wickliffite, until compelled (in 1382) to make a solemn recantation at Paul's Cross. Honours were then poured thick upon him. Pope Innocent VII. intruded him into the see of Lincoln; and in 1419 Gregory XII. made him a cardinal, when he resigned

his bishopric. He died about the year 1434, and was interred in Lincoln Cathedral, near the grave of his great predecessor Robert Grosstête.

[A.D. 1420—1431.] RICHARD FLEMING, Canon of Lincoln, was nominated by the Pope (and consecrated at Florence) on the resignation of Repington. In 1424 Bishop Fleming was translated by papal authority to the vacant see of York; but his translation was resisted by Henry V., who refused to restore the temporalities. Bishop Fleming was accordingly compelled to remain at Lincoln; as bishop of which see he executed the sentence of the Council of Constance in 1425, which ordered the body of Wickliffe to be exhumed, as that of a heretic, the bones to be burnt, and the ashes thrown into the nearest river. (The church of Lutterworth, in which Wickliffe had been buried, was in the diocese of Lincoln.) Bishop Fleming was buried in the chapel erected by himself on the north side of the choir; (Pt. I. § XVIII.) He was the founder (1430) of Lincoln College, Oxford; the buildings of which were further advanced by Thomas Beckington, (1443—1464,) Bishop of Bath and Wells, and completed by Thomas Scott, or Rotherham, translated (1480) to the see of York from Lincoln; (see *post*).

[A.D. 1431—1436.] WILLIAM GRAY; translated to Lincoln from London.

[A.D. 1436—1449.] WILLIAM ALNWICK, Confessor to Henry VI., was translated to Lincoln from Norwich. At Norwich Bishop Alnwick almost rebuilt the west front of his cathedral, (see NORWICH); and the west window at Lincoln is his work; (Pt. I. § III.) He was a great benefactor to the Philosophy Schools at Cambridge.

[A.D. 1450, died the same year.] MARMADUKE LUMLEY, translated from Carlisle, of which see he had been bishop for twenty years. He gave £200 toward the building of Queens' College, Cambridge; and supplied the library with many books.

- [A.D. 1452—1471.] JOHN CHADWORTH, Canon of Lincoln, and Provost of Queens' College, Cambridge, was elected after the see had been vacant for more than twelve months. In 1454 Bishop Chadworth, and Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, were appointed by Henry VI. to revise the statutes of his two royal colleges at Eton and Cambridge.
- [A.D. 1472—1480.] THOMAS SCOTT, or ROTHERHAM, translated to Lincoln from Rochester, was elevated to the see of York in 1480. He died in 1500, having for some time been Chancellor of England. Lincoln College, Oxford, was completed by him.
- [A.D. 1480—1494.] JOHN RUSSELL, translated to Lincoln from Rochester. He was the first Chancellor of the University of Oxford who retained his office for life, his predecessors having been elected year by year. Bishop Russell's piety, learning, and general knowledge of affairs were greatly praised by Sir Thomas More. He was buried in the chapel which he had built during his life, on the south side of the retro-choir at Lincoln; (Pt. I. § XXII.)
- [A.D. 1496—1514.] WILLIAM SMITH, translated from Lichfield. He had been a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Surrey. "'A good name,' observes Fuller, 'is an ointment poured out,' saith Solomon; and this man, wheresoever he went, may be followed by the perfumes of charity he left behind him." At Lichfield he founded a hospital and a school; and at Oxford he commenced the rebuilding of Brasenose College on the site of the ancient hall of that name. That college accordingly retains his arms, (Argent, a chevron sable between three roses gules,) and he is regarded as its founder. Bishop Smith was Chancellor of Oxford; and was appointed the first President of Wales by Henry VII.; "that politick Prince," says Fuller, "having, to ease and honour his native country of Wales, erected a court of Presidency, conformable to the Parliaments of France, in the Marches thereof." The Bishop was buried in his own cathedral at Lincoln.

- [A.D. 1514.] THOMAS WOISEY was Bishop of Lincoln for nearly twelve months, before his elevation to York.
- [A.D. 1514—1520.] WILLIAM ATWATER, Dean of the Chapel Royal.
- [A.D. 1521—1547.] JOHN LONGLAND, Dean of Salisbury, and Confessor to Henry VIII. For the greater part of his episcopate—during which the bishoprics of Oxford and Peterborough were erected out of portions of his vast diocese—he was Chancellor of Oxford. His chantry has been noticed, Pt. I. § XXII.
- [A.D. 1547—1551.] HENRY HOLBEACH; had been consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Bristol in 1538: in 1544 he was appointed Bishop of Rochester; and was thence translated to Lincoln. The temporalities were restored to Bishop Holbeach in August 1547; and in the following September he resigned to the Crown (Edw. VI.) a large proportion of the manors belonging to the see.
- [A.D. 1552—1554.] JOHN TAYLOR, Dean of Lincoln, and President of St. John's College, Cambridge. On the accession of Mary, Bishop Taylor refused to be present at the celebration of Mass, and was accordingly deprived; escaping further penalties by his death, which occurred at Ankerwyke, in Buckinghamshire.
- [A.D. 1554; translated to Winchester 1556.] JOHN WHITE.
- [A.D. 1557—1559.] THOMAS WATSON, a decided opponent of the Reformation, was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth. He was consigned to the care of the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, successively, and was finally imprisoned in Wisbech Castle, where he died in 1584, and was buried in the parish church of Wisbech.
- [A.D. 1559; translated to Worcester 1570.] NICHOLAS BULLINGHAM.
- [A.D. 1570; translated to Winchester 1584.] THOMAS COWPER, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
- [A.D. 1584; translated to Winchester 1594.] WILLIAM WICKHAM.

[A.D. 1594—1608.] WILLIAM CHADERTON, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, was consecrated Bishop of Chester in 1579; and in 1594 was translated to Lincoln.

[A.D. 1608—1613.] WILLIAM BARLOW; translated to Lincoln from Rochester.

[A.D. 1613; translated to Durham 1617.] RICHARD NEILE, passed successively through the sees of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester, to the archiepiscopal see of York, (see that Cathedral,) where he died in 1640.

[A.D. 1617; translated to London 1621.] GEORGE MONTEIGNE. He passed from London to Durham, and thence to York.

[A.D. 1621; translated to York 1641.] JOHN WILLIAMS, the well-known opponent of Laud, was a native of Carnarvonshire, and educated at Cambridge. On the removal of Lord Chancellor Bacon in 1621, Williams was made Keeper of the Great Seal; and, in the same month, Bishop of Lincoln: with which see he held the deanery of Westminster and the rectory of Waldgrave *in commendam*. A full notice of Archbishop Williams, whose life belongs in fact to the history of his time, will be found in the Handbook to YORK CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.

[A.D. 1642, died 1654.] THOMAS WINNIFFE, Dean successively of Gloucester and London, was expelled from his see during the Civil War, and retired to Lamborne in Essex; of which place, says Fuller, he had been for some time the "painful minister." He died there in 1654, and was buried in the parish church.

[A.D. 1660—1663.] ROBERT SANDERSON, the most eminent casuist of the English Church, was descended from an ancient family, and born at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, in 1587. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, and became rector successively of Wybberton and of Boothby Pagnel, both in Lincolnshire; and in 1629 Prebendary of Lincoln. He was recommended by Laud for one of the

King's chaplains; and Charles I. used to say that "he carried his ears to hear other preachers, but his conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson." In 1642 Sanderson was appointed by the King Professor of Divinity at Oxford; and he was concerned in many of the discussions during the Civil War, before, in 1647 and 1648, he obtained leave to attend Charles I. during his retention at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight. In the latter year he was deprived of his Professorship by the Parliamentary Visitors, and retired to Boothby Pagnel, where he was permitted to remain, not altogether undisturbed, until the Restoration. During this retirement he wrote, at the request of Robert Boyle, his book *De Conscientiâ*.

On the Restoration, Sanderson was elevated to the see of Lincoln. He nearly rebuilt the palace at Buckden, which had been ruined by the Puritans, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church there, after having held the bishopric for not quite two years. The reputation of Bishop Sanderson was great during his lifetime. "That staid and well weighed man Dr. Sanderson," says Hammond, 'conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that differ exactly, passeth his judgment rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly, and honestly.' His life is one of those written by Izaak Walton. His works have been frequently reprinted; the most important being "Sermons," "Cases of Conscience," *De Juramenti Obligatione, De Obligatione Conscientiæ*.

[A.D. 1663; translated to Ely 1667.] BENJAMIN LANEY, translated to Lincoln from Peterborough.

[A.D. 1667—1675.] WILLIAM FULLER, translated from Limerick.

[A.D. 1675—1691.] THOMAS BARLOW, Archdeacon of Oxford. Godwin asserts that he never held a visitation within his diocese, and, what is more incredible, that he never saw his cathedral at Lincoln. He defended the strongest measures of James II., but was equally ready to do homage to

William III. Bishop Barlow's learning was considerable, and he has been especially praised by Clarendon, who applied to him the words of Cicero, "Non unum in multis, sed unum inter omnes prope singularem."

[A.D. 1691; translated to Canterbury 1694.] THOMAS TENISON. (See CANTERBURY, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1694—1704.] JAMES GARDINER.

[A.D. 1705; translated to Canterbury 1715.] WILLIAM WAKE. (See CANTERBURY, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1715; translated to London 1723.] EDMUND GIBSON.

[A.D. 1723—1744.] RICHARD REYNOLDS, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1744; translated to Salisbury 1761.] JOHN THOMAS.

[A.D. 1761—1779.] JOHN GREEN.

[A.D. 1779; translated to Durham 1787.] THOMAS THURLOW.

[A.D. 1787; translated to Winchester 1820.] GEORGE PRETYMAN.

[A.D. 1820—1827.] GEORGE PELHAM; translated from Exeter.

[A.D. 1827—1853.] JOHN KAYE; translated from Bristol.

[A.D. 1853.] JOHN JACKSON.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART III.

NOTE I. (PART I, SECT. I.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL BY ST.
HUGH: FROM THE METRICAL LIFE; VERSES 833—966.

[*Quomodo ædificavit ecclesiam Lincolniensem.*]

PONTIFICIS vero pontem facit ad Paradisum
Provida religio, provisio religiosa;
Ædificare Sion in simplicitate laborans,
Non in sanguinibus. Et mirâ construit arte
Ecclesie cathedralis opus: quod in ædificando
Non solum concedit opes, operamque suorum,
Sed proprii sudoris opem; lapidesque frequenter
Excisos fert in calatho, calcemque tenacem.
Debilitas claudi, baculis suffulta duobus,
Illius officium calathi sortitur, inesse
Omen ei credens; successiveque duorum
Indignatur opem baculorum. Rectificatque
Curvum, quæ rectos solet incurvare diæta.

O gregis egregius, non mercenarius immo
Pastor! Ut ecclesiæ perhibet structura novella.
Mater namque Sion dejecta jacebat et arcta,
Errans, ignara, languens, anus, acris, egena,
Vilis, turpis: Hugo dejectam sublevat, arotam
Ampliat, errantem regit, ignaram docet, ægram
Sanat, anum renovat, acrem dulcorat, egenam
Fecundat, vilem decorat, turpemque decorat.

Funditus obruitur moles vetus, et nova surgit;
Surgentisque status formam crucis exprimit aptam.
Tres integrales partes labor arduus unit:
Nam fundamenti moles solidissima surgit
A centro, paries supportat in aera tectum:
Sic fundamentum terræ sepelitur in alvo
Sed paries tectumque patent, ausuque superbo
Evolat ad nubes paries, ad sidera tectum.
Materiæ pretio studium bene competit artis.
Nam quasi pennatis avibus testudo locuta,
Latas expandens alas, similisque volanti,
Nubes offendit, solidis innisa columnis.
Viscosusque liquor lapides conglutinat albos,
Quos manus artificis omnes excidit ad unguem
Et paries ex congerie constructus eorum,
Hoc quasi dedignans, mentitur continuare
Contiguas partes; non esse videtur ab arte
Quin a naturâ; non res unita, sed una.
Altera fulcit opus lapidum pretiosa nigrorum
Materies, non sic uno contenta colore,
Non tot laxa poris, sed crebro sidere fulgens,
Et rigido compacta sinu: nulloque domari
Dignatur ferro, nisi quando domatur ab arte;
Quando superficies nimis laxatur arenæ
Pulsibus, et solidum forti penetratur aceto.
Inspectus lapis iste potest suspendere mentes,
Ambiguas utrum jaspis marmorve sit; at si
Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si marmor, nobile marmor.
Inde columnellæ, quæ sic cinxere columnas,
Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream.
Exterior facies, nascente politior ungue,
Clara percussis opponit visibus astra:
Nam tot ibi pinxit varias fortuna figuras,
Ut si picturam similem simulare labore
Ars conata diu, naturam vix imitetur.
Sic junctura decens serie disponit honestâ
Mille columnellas ibi: quæ rigidæ, pretiosæ,

Fulgentes, opus ecclesiæ totale rigore
 Perpetuant, pretio ditant, fulgore serenant.
 Ipsarum siquidem status est procerus et altus,
 Cultus sincerus et splendidus, ordo venustus
 Et geometricus, decor aptus et utilis, usus
 Gratus et eximius, rigor inconsumptus et acer.

[*De fenestris vitreis.*]

Splendida prætendit oculis ænigmata duplex
 Pompa fenestrarum; cives inscripta supernæ
 Urbis, et arma quibus Stygium domuere tyrannum.
 Majoresque duæ, tamquam duo lumina; quorum
 Orbiculare jubar, fines aquilonis et austri
 Respiciens, geminâ premit omnes luce fenestras.
 Illæ conferri possunt vulgaribus astris;
 Hæc duo sunt, unum quasi sol, aliud quasi luna.
 Sic caput ecclesiæ duo candelabra serenant,
 Vivis et variis imitata coloribus irim;
 Non imitata quidem, sed præcellentia; nam sol,
 Quando reperentitur in nubibus, efficit irim;
 Illa duo sine sole micant, sine nube coruscant.

[*De allegoria singulorum.*]

Hæc, descripta quasi pueriliter, allegoriæ
 Pondus habent. Foris apparet quasi testa, sed intus
 Consistit nucleus; foris est quasi cera, sed intus
 Est favus; et lucet jucundior ignis in umbrâ.
 Nam fundamentum, paries, tectum, lapis albus
 Excisus, marmor planum, spectabile, nigrum,
 Ordo fenestrarum duplex, geminæque fenestræ,
 Quæ quasi despiciunt fines aquilonis et austri,
 In se magna quidem sunt, sed majora figurant.

[*De partibus ecclesiæ integræ.*]

Est fundamentum corpus, paries homo, tectum
 Spiritus; ecclesiæ triplex divisio. Corpus
 Terram sortitur, homo nubes, spiritus astra.

[*De albis lapidibus.*]

Albus et excisus castos lapis et sapientes
Exprimit: albedo pudor est, excisio dogma.

[*De marmoribus.*]

Marmoris effigie, planâ, splendente, nigellâ,
Sponsa figuratur, simplex, morosa, laborans.
Rectè nimirum designat simplicitatem
Planities, splendor mores, nigredo laborem.

[*De vitreis fenestris.*]

Illustrans mundum divino lumine, cleri
Est præclara cohors, claris expressa fenestris.
Ordo subalternus utrobique potestque notari;
Ordine canonicus exstante, vicarius imo.
Et quia, canonico tractante negotia mundi,
Jugis et assiduus divina vicarius implet,
Summa fenestrarum series nitet inclita florum
Involucro, mundi varium signante decorem;
Inferior perhibet sanctorum nomina patrum.

[*De duabus orbicularibus fenestris.*]

Præbentes geminæ jubar orbiculare fenestræ
Ecclesiæ duo sunt oculi; rectèque videtur
Major in his esse præsul, minor esse decanus.
Est aquilo zabulus, est Sanctus Spiritus auster;
Quos oculi duo respiciunt. Nam respicit austrum
Præsul, ut invitet; aquilonem vero decanus,
Ut vitet; videt hic ut salvetur, videt ille
Ne pereat. Frons ecclesiæ candelabra cœli,
Et tenebras lethes, oculis circumspicit istis.

[*Consummatio totius allegoriæ.*]

Sic insensibiles lapides mysteria claudunt
Vivorum lapidum, manualis spiritualem
Fabrica designat fabricam; duplexque refulget
Ecclesiæ facies, duplici decorata paratu.

attempts to emancipate itself: nevertheless, the character is purely Anglo-Norman.

"The construction is English; the profiles of the mouldings are English; the ornaments are English; the execution of the work belongs to the English school of workmen of the beginning of the thirteenth century."

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